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MIWOK MOIETIES

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The Miwok Indians of the Sierra Nevada of California are divided by anthropologists into three dialectic groups, termed Northern or Amador, Central or Tuolumne, and Southern or Mariposa. These three groups occupy the western slope of the mountains from El Dorado County in the north to Madera County in the south.[1] Their social organization takes the form of totemic exogamic moieties with paternal descent.

To Dr. C. Hart Merriam and to Dr. S. A. Barrett belongs the credit of calling attention to the Miwok moieties.[2] The present contribution,

[1] For geographical information see C. Hart Merriam, Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock of California, Am. Anthr., n. s., IX, 338–357, 1907; and S. A. Barrett, The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., VI, 333–368, 1908.

[2] C. Hart Merriam, Totemism in California, Am. Anthr., n. s., X, 558–562, 1908; S. A. Barrett, Totemism Among the Miwok Indians, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XVII, 237, 1908.

while treating of the moieties in a general way, deals especially with two subjects with which they are closely interlocked, viz., personal names and terms of relationship. The former are connected with the totemic features of the moieties, the latter with the exogamic features.

The writer has recently found an organization, bearing a resemblance to that of the Miwok, among the Shoshonean Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada in Madera County, and among the Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi, which are Yokuts tribes. The Chukchansi inhabit Madera County north of the San Joaquin River; the Gashowu inhabit Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River; and the Tachi inhabit the plains north of Tulare Lake. These discoveries, which will be treated in a forthcoming paper, indicate that social organization on a dual basis was common to a large part of south central California.[3]

The data here recorded refer, except where otherwise noted, to the Central Sierra Miwok, and were obtained during three visits to their territory in Tuolumne County. These visits were made in 1913, 1914, and 1915. Information was also obtained from people who spoke the Northern Sierra dialect and who were employed on ranches in the vicinity of Elk Grove, Sacramento County. These people had come down from their homes in the Sierra Nevada foothills of Amador County. A brief visit was also paid to the Southern Sierra Miwok of Madera County.

In the preparation of this paper I am indebted to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, who has unstintingly given me the benefit of his knowledge of Californian ethnology.

MOIETIES

As already related, the Central Sierra Miwok are divided into exogamic moieties with paternal descent, usually spoken of as kikua (water side) and tunuka (land, or dry, side). Frequently the former are referred to as "bullfrog people" (lotasuna) and the latter as "bluejay people" (kosituna). The presence of two exogamic divisions with animal nicknames has at least a superficial analogy to a case mentioned by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers as occurring on the island of Raga or Pentecost in the northern New Hebrides.[4]

[3] For a preliminary notice see Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291–296, 1916.

[4] Totemism in Polynesia and Melanesia, Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 172, 1909.

With the Miwok the moiety has no subdivisions. At first glance the fact that 16 per cent of the Central Sierra Miwok are named after bears, and the remainder after numerous other animate and inanimate objects and phenomena, would seem to suggest a phratral system, with numerous totemic gentes, gone into decay. The Indians, nevertheless, positively deny the existence of smaller divisions. They in no way regard the people with bear names, for example, as forming a special group. Nothing in the information obtained points to a phratral system ever having been in operation.

Individuals from the Northern Sierra division of the Miwok were found to disagree as to the occurrence of the moiety system among their people. An informant from West Point in Calaveras County and one from Jackson in Amador County stated that the dual divisions were in force in those places. Two other informants, one thirty and the other about forty years of age, from Plymouth, in Amador County, knew nothing about the moieties.

Exogamy

The exogamic rules of the moieties were not rigidly adhered to even before the coming of the whites. Out of a series of four hundred and thirteen individuals, whose names were obtained, one hundred and eighty-four, or 45 per cent, belonged to the water moiety, and two hundred and twenty-nine, or 55 per cent, to the land moiety. The greater number of these four hundred and thirteen individuals were either of the generation of the oldest Indians of today or of the preceding generation. Had the exogamic rules been strictly enforced it would have meant that ten people out of every hundred went unmarried or else married late in life. The natural result of this preponderance of one moiety over the other would be the breaking down of strict exogamy in actual practice, especially in a case like the present, where the system lacks the rigidity of the Australian marriage-class system. Informants stated that strenuous efforts were never made to prevent improper marriages. The relatives merely objected and pointed out the impropriety of such marriages. Under the heading "Marriages" are listed the recorded Miwok marriages, of which actually 25 per cent are improper.

The figures in the last paragraph show the division into moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok as a whole, at least so far as the data go. A list of the inhabitants of only one village was obtained. This village

was located on Big Creek near Groveland. The total number of individuals listed is one hundred and two and includes people of all generations within the knowledge of the informant. Out of this total, 56 per cent belonged to the water moiety and 44 per cent to the land moiety. This is the reverse of the situation among the Central Sierra Miwok exclusive of the Big Creek people. A table will perhaps make the situation clearer.

	Percentage of water moiety	Percentage of land moiety
Central Sierra Miwok in general	45	55
Village at Big Creek	56	44
Central Sierra Miwok, except Big Creek people	41	59

Unfortunately no other village censuses have been taken, so that in comparing the Big Creek people with the remainder of the Central Sierra Miwok we are comparing with a very miscellaneous and scattered lot of individuals. Roughly stated, however, they may be said to be mainly Jamestown and Knights Ferry people. At Big Creek twelve people out of a hundred were ineligible for monogamic marriage within the village, if strict exogamy were enforced. In the region outside of Big Creek, however, eighteen people out of a hundred were ineligible.

Totemism

That totemic symptoms of one sort or another are present in the Miwok organization cannot be denied; yet, on the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the classing of the Miwok with totemic peoples is based on a rather weak foundation. The claims for such classification rest on three well established facts.

First, all nature is divided between land and water, in a more or less arbitrary manner, to be sure, as shown by the classing of such animals as the coyote, deer, and quail on the "water" side.

Second, the exogamic moieties are identified respectively with land and water.

Third, an intimate connection exists between the land and water divisions of nature and the land and water moieties. This connection is through personal names, which usually have an implied reference to animate or inanimate natural objects or phenomena, although not infrequently to manufactured objects instead. The objects or phenomena referred to in personal names belong, as a rule, either to the water or to the land side of nature. The names are applied according

as the individual is of the water or of the land moiety. Hence, it may be said that each moiety is connected through the personal names of its members with a more or less definite group of objects and phenomena.

The ensuing very incomplete lists, the contents of which were spontaneous on the part of informants, give some idea of the dual classification of nature. The reason for placing on the "water" side certain creatures which are actually land animals is hard to understand. An informant explained two of the cases to me as follows: The quail is placed on the water side because a turtle once turned into a quail; while the coyote is placed on the water side because Coyote won a bet with the creator and the latter had to go to the sky and take a land-side name, while Coyote remained on earth and took a water-side name.

On the water side are coyote, deer, antelope, beaver, otter, quail, dove, kingbird, bluebird, turkey vulture, killdeer, jacksnipe, goose, crane, kingfisher, swan, land salamander, water snake, eel, whitefish, minnow, katydid, butterfly, clouds, and rainy weather.

On the land side are tree squirrel, dog, mountain lion, wildcat, raccoon, jay, hawk, condor, raven, California woodpecker, flicker, salmon-berry, "Indian potato," sky, and clear weather.

Another, though slender, bit of evidence in favor of totemism is a fragment of a myth recounting the origin of the moieties. It was obtained from a woman of the water moiety, Mrs. Sophie Thompson, formerly chieftainess at Big Creek, near Groveland. She stated that her father, Nomasu, told her the story. In this myth it is interesting to note that, although an animal of each side is concerned, it is the coyote, usually classified by the Miwok as a water animal, which actually gives birth to the four founders of the moieties. However, the part the coyote plays may perhaps be as much that of culture hero as of water totem. The myth, the scene of which is laid in Hetch-Hetchy Valley, runs as follows:

Coyote said to his wife, Bear, as he was about to cohabit with her: "We will have a boy and a girl." His wife gave birth to twins, a coyote-boy and a coyote-girl, who grew up.

Coyote girl married a bear. Coyote himself dreamed and "made the first four people when he was dreaming. He dreamed how he was going to make two kinds and how he was going to call them." Coyote-girl and her husband told each other they would have four children, two girls and two boys. Coyote-girl gave birth to them and they were the first four people about whom Coyote dreamed.

Coyote named one of the male children Tunuka and one of the female children Kikua. The other male child he named Kikua and the other female Tunuka. Coyote thus made the moieties and gave people their first names.

The new couples, although brothers and sisters, married and had children. The gopher acted as messenger and told Tunuka (woman) to come and help Kikua (woman) give birth to her child. After his wife Kikua had given birth, Tunuka (man) went out and killed a turkey vulture so as to wrap his baby in the feathers. Next Tunuka (woman) had a baby and gopher went to Kikua (woman) and asked her to come and assist at the delivery. Then Kikua (the husband of Tunuka) went out and killed an eagle to wrap his baby in. He also killed a deer and tanned the hide to make a cradle-board of it for the baby.

Coyote-boy also married his sister's daughter Tunuka, the wife of Kikua.

The above myth is the only one obtained which points to a belief in actual descent from animals. When applied to people with bear names it looks very much like a myth of descent from the totem, or at least from the animal after which these people are named. Especially is this true if a genealogy shows bear names continuously on the male side of the family. Such was very nearly the case with the family of the informant's husband (see genealogy III). With one exception, all possessed bear names, at least during the four generations shown in the genealogy just mentioned. When asked if her husband believed his paternal ancestors to be descended from a bear, Mrs. Thompson replied in the affirmative; but the bear she referred to was Coyote-girl's husband, who, according to the myth, was the paternal ancestor of all the Miwok regardless of moiety or personal name, and not merely the paternal ancestor of the Miwok with bear names. Negative answers were received from all other informants when similar questions were propounded to them. They were usually amused at the idea of one of their ancestors being a bear, the sun, a dance-pole, or some other object. In short, the Central Sierra Miwok as a whole do not believe that they are descended from animals. They do believe, however, that they succeeded the animals on earth, which is the belief common to the typical central Californian stocks. This belief, that before the coming of the Indians animals possessed the world, is very different from the idea of descent from the totem.

Informants stated that in former days it was customary for people to "show respect" to the bear, the eagle, and the falcon after any of these had been killed. This was done by laying the body of the slain creature on a blanket and having a little feast in honor of it when it was brought to the hunter's home. So far as I could ascertain, this was not a ceremony connected with moieties or with totemism. It was no different in import from the offerings made by the Miwok when

a condor was killed or when the young of a certain hawk were taken from the nest.[5] This type of ceremony was common to a large part of California. The purpose was to appease the animal or its spirit. The ceremony was based on the belief that the animals possessed dangerous supernatural power. Obviously the three cases in question are no different in motive from the above, or from the practices of other stocks, of which a notable example is the Maidu treatment of bears.[6]

The supernatural powers obtained by shamans from animals were not received, except by coincidence, from the animal after which the shaman was named. A man of the water moiety might become a bear shaman just as readily as a man of the land moiety, even though bears and bear names are associated only with the latter moiety. Apparently a man's moiety and his personal name had no influence on his acquisition of supernatural power. The animal he was named after did not become his familiar or guardian spirit, except, as I have said, by coincidence.

Ceremonies

The participation of the moieties as such in games and ceremonies was unimportant. Out of forty-four known ceremonies, the moieties took part as such in only four—the funeral, the mourning ceremony, the girl's puberty ceremony, and a dance known as the ahana. At least at Big Creek the moieties had reciprocal funerary functions, it being the duty of one moiety to care for the dead of the other. In the washing of the people which terminated the mourning ceremony washers of the water moiety tended one basket and washed people of the land moiety, while washers of the land moiety tended another basket and washed people of the water moiety. This custom, together with that of the moieties taking sides in games, obtained regularly at Big Creek, but not to such an extent elsewhere. This perhaps points to Big Creek as a place in which the moiety system was more firmly established.

In the girl's puberty ceremony it was customary for some girl, for whom the rites had previously been performed, to exchange dresses with the initiate. In all cases the two girls belonged to opposite moieties; if the initiate was of the water moiety, the girl who exchanged dresses with her must be of the land moiety. In the ahana dance the

[5] See the meaning of Teuke in the list of personal names, p. 157.

[6] Roland B. Dixon, The Northern Maidu, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 194, 1905.

spectators, who made gifts to the dancers, were always of the opposite moiety but of the same sex as the dancers to whom they gave presents.

Among the Southern Sierra Miwok of Madera County dancers indicate their moiety by means of paint, especially on the face. The land moiety is indicated by stripes, usually horizontal; the water moiety by spots. The latter are said to represent the spots of fawns, which are water moiety animals. Informants did not know what the land moiety stripes represented.

PERSONAL NAMES

A child was named shortly after birth, preferably by a grandfather, but not infrequently by any one of the near relatives. The name received at that time was kept throughout life. Names of men and women did not differ. Occasionally a person received a nickname later in life.

The literal meanings or derivations, in part at least, as well as the connotations, of one hundred and forty-four personal names were obtained. Thirty-four of these names prove to be nouns or derivatives of nouns, and one hundred and two verbs or derivatives of verbs. Of the remaining eight names, three are adverbial, while five may be either nouns or verbs. It is likely that a similar proportion will be found throughout the remaining two hundred and eighty-seven names, of which record was made, when the literal meanings are worked out. It is interesting to find that in the use of both nouns and verbs Yokuts personal names, as obtained by Dr. A. L. Kroeber, agree with the Miwok.[7]

To a strange Indian, not acquainted with the individual whose name is mentioned, verb names have only their literal meaning. To the friends and acquaintances of the individual, however, the name has more than its literal meaning. It has an implied meaning, which usually brings in a reference to an animate or inanimate object. For example, the personal name Wüksü is a form of the verb meaning "to go." Yet to the friends and relatives of the man his name meant "Sun going down." Another interesting case is found in the personal names Hausü and Hauteu, both derived from hausus, to yawn, or to gape. The former is a land moiety name and a bear is implied; the latter is a water moiety name and a salmon is implied. An extreme case, but one which throws light on the mental attitude of the

[7] Yokuts Names, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, XIX, 142–143, 1906.

name-giver, is that of the name Kuyunu. This name, according to the informant, had the connotation, "Dog wagging its tail." Kuyunu contains the same root as kuyage, to whistle. Apparently the name-giver thought of the whistling of a man to a dog as the cause of the dog wagging its tail, and, instead of naming the child after the action of the dog, named it after the cause of the dog's action; namely, whistling. Without knowledge of the individual, a Miwok, on hearing any of the above names, would be unable to decide as to the person's moiety or as to the animal or object implied. In the seventy bear names obtained, the word for bear is actually used in only one case.

In other words, among the Miwok there is absolutely nothing in the literal meanings of over 70 per cent of the personal names even to suggest totemism. It is only in the implied meanings that the totemic element appears. In this respect there is a striking resemblance to the Mohave custom of calling women by names which have only an implied and perhaps esoteric reference to natural objects or phenomena, the coyote, for instance.[8]

A close parallel to Miwok names is found in Hopi personal names, as set forth in the Rev. H. R. Voth's paper on "Hopi Proper Names."[9] The names as a rule are considerably longer than the average Miwok name, because they are usually made up of two or more elements, in many cases a noun and a verb. Pure verb names among the Hopi are scarce, but, when they do occur, they do not differ from Miwok verb names in their application. For example, consider the name Una, which means "remember"; in this there is nothing to indicate the animal or object for which the person was named. Yet the coyote is implied, and the name "refers to the fact that a coyote is said to remember some food that he has buried somewhere and that he then gets." As stated above, each Miwok name has an implied or actual reference to an object associated with the moiety to which the possessor of the name belongs. Each Hopi name, however, does not refer to the clan totem of the possessor, except coincidentally, but does refer to the clan totem of the name-giver. The most striking resemblance between the Miwok and the Hopi systems of naming lies in the fact that in each system names identical in form, when applied to different individuals, may connote entirely different objects.

Half-breeds born of Miwok mothers and white fathers are always considered as belonging to the moiety of which the mother is not a

[8] A. L. Kroeber, Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave Indians, Am. Anthr., n. s., IV, 278, 1902.

[9] Field Col. Mus. Anthr., VI, 61–113, 1905.

member. For example, if the mother is of the land moiety, the half-breed child will be of the water moiety and his or her name will refer to an animal or object identified with the water side of nature.

The matter of naming foreigners who take up their residence with the Miwok proceeds after a somewhat similar fashion. It is particularly well exemplified by a number of Yokuts and Costanoan men who lived with the Miwok and married Miwok women. As a rule these men were placed in the moiety to which their wives did not belong. The same practice is shown in the marriage of Yottoko, a negro, to Ukunulumaiye, a Miwok woman of the land moiety. Yottoko was given a water moiety name. The above custom is just the reverse of the Winnebago practice, in which foreigners who marry Winnebago women are given a name from the wife's clan.[10] Descent with the Winnebago is paternal as with the Miwok, hence the children of such marriages belong to the mother's clan, not directly through the mother, however, but through the father.

The ensuing list gives the names for which complete or partial derivations have been worked out. The sex and moiety of each individual is indicated as follows: (m.) for male, (f.) for female, W. for water moiety, L. for land moiety. The italicized words in this list indicate the animals or other objects to which the personal names refer. It is to be noted that the connotation of a name occasionally brings to light an interesting old custom, for example, in the case of the name Teuke (see p. 157). Lack of familiarity with the language prevents a fuller linguistic analysis of the names.

Akaino. L. (m.) *Bear* holding its head up. Akaiye, to hold one's head up.

Akulu. L. (m.) Looking at the *sun*. Akule, to look up.

Apanta. W. (m.) *Salamander* in the water. Apanta, salamander.

Atce. W. (f.) Cutting and drying *salmon*. Ate, to split off.

Awanata. W. (m.) *Turtle*.

Elki. L. (m.) *Bear* hanging intestines of people on top of rocks or bushes. Elkini, to hang on top of or over.

Eñeto. L. (m.) *Bear's* manner of walking. Eña, bent or crooked. In this case reference is made to the bear bending its foot when walking.

Epeta. L. (f.) *Lizard* lying on top of rock. Epetitcü, to lie on the belly.

Etu. L. (m.) *Sun* rising from the hills. Etu, sun; etumu, to get warm in the sun, that is, to sun one's self; etumü, to ascend a hill. According to a Big Creek informant, etu is the term for sun at that place. Cf. watu, sun, in Southern Sierra dialect. Among the Central Sierra Miwok, other than Big Creek people, hiema is the term for sun.

Etumu. L. (m.) *Bear* warming itself in the sun. Etumu, to sun one's self.

[10] Paul Radin, The Clan Organization of the Winnebago, a Preliminary Paper, Am. Anthr., n. s., XII, 212–213, 1910.

Etumüye. L. (f.) *Bear* climbing a hill. Etumü, to ascend a hill.

Hatawa. L. (m.) *Bear* breaking the bones of people or animals. Hate, foot; hate, to press with the foot; atwa, to split.

Hateya. L. (f.) *Bear* making track in the dust. Hate, foot; hate, to press with the foot.

Hausü. L. (m.) *Bear* yawning as it awakes. Hausus, to yawn, to gape.

Hautcu. W. (m.) *Salmon* gaping when out of water. Hausus, to yawn, to gape.

He'eluye. L. (f.) *Bow, arrows,* and *quiver* placed against tree while warrior rests. Seeluteo, to lay on side.

Helaku. L. (f.) *Sunny day* without clouds. Helaku, sunny day.

Helki. W. (m.) *Jacksnipe* (?) digging into ground with bill. Hele, to touch. The Miwok name for the bird alluded to its kuiatawila; it is said to come only in the winter.

Helkimu. W. (m.) Hitting bushes with *seed* beater. Hele, to touch.

Heltu. L. (m.) *Bear* barely touching people as it reaches for them. Helat, to reach for and barely touch.

Hesutu. L. (m.) Lifting a *yellow-jackets'* nest out of the ground. Hesa, yellow-jackets' nest; hesute, to take out yellow-jackets' nest.

Hesutuye. L. (f.) Getting *yellow-jackets'* nest from the ground. Hesa, yellow-jackets' nest; hesute, to take out yellow-jackets' nest.

Heteltei. L. (f.) Leaning against *pota ceremony* pole. Heliteu, to lean against.

Hisokuye. L. (f.) Hair growing on *bear.* Hisoku, body hair.

Hopoto. W. (m.) *Frog* eggs hatching in water. Hopoto, round.

Hotutu. W. (m.) Round *rocks* hurting the feet, when one is walking. Hotowun, to walk on round rocks; hotolum, to roll.

Howotmila. L. (m.) Running hand down (encircling) branch of a certain kind of shrub to get off the *seeds* for beads. Howotu, beads.

Hunipte. L. (m.) Looking "high-toned" when getting *seed.* Hunepu, to look proud.

Hupaiye. W. (f.) Making boiled "*wild cabbage*" into a ball for lunch when cooking acorns. Hupaiye, to squeeze.

Huyana. W. (m.) *Rain* falling.

Kalmanu. W. (m.) *Lightning* striking tree. Kala, lightning striking.

Katuye. W. (m.) Damming *water* in pool. Kata, to close, to shut.

Kilikila. L. (m.) Small *hawk* (kilikila) calling, making a cry which resembles name.

Koho. L. (m.) Limping. Cojo, Spanish for lame.

Kolenya. W. (f.) *Fish* coughing. Kole, to cough.

Kolotomu. W. (f.) Getting *oak-leaf gall-nuts.* Kolotu, a spiny red oak-leaf gall-nut.

Kosumi. W. (m.) Going fishing with a spear for *salmon.* Kose, to throw at; kosumu, salmon.

Kukse. W. (m.) *Valley quail* starting to fly from ground. Kukse, to be frightened.

Kusetu. W. (f.) "*Wild potato*" sprouting. Kusetu, to bloom.

Kusetu. L. (m.) "*Wild potato*" growing out of ground. Kusetu, to bloom.

Kusetuye. W. (f.) "*Wild potato*" sprouting. Kusetu, to bloom.

Kutattea. L. (m.) *Bear* scattering intestines of a person as it eats him. Kutatenani, to throw away something not wanted.

Kuteume. L. (m.) Unburned ends of *wood* after fire dies out.

Kuteuyak. L. (m.) *Bear* with good hair. Kutei, good.

Kututcanati. L. (f.) *Bear* eating people. This name is undoubtedly of the same derivation as Kutattca.

Kuyunu. L. (m.) *Dog* wagging its tail. Probably from kuyage, to whistle, in which case the meaning is entirely a matter of implication. The reason for such a meaning lay in the mind of the name-giver, who connected the wagging of a dog's tail with the whistling of a person to the dog.

Labakse. W. (m.) Getting *elderberry* wood. Lapa, elderberry.

Lilepu. L. (m.) *Bear* going over a man hiding between rocks. Lile, up, probably used here with the idea of over, or on top of.

Liñugse. L. (m.) *Tule* growing in water. Liña, tule.

Liptcu. W. (m.) Dropping of eggs of female *salmon* when it is lifted up. Lipisa, to drop.

Liptuye. L. (f.) Getting *pine-nuts* from cones which have dropped from the tree to the ground. Lipisa, to drop.

Litaña. W. (m.) *Hummingbird* darting down after having gone straight up. Litañü, to dart down.

Liwanu. L. (m.) Bear growling. Liwani, to talk; liwa, to make noise.

Lumai. W. (m.) Humming of *hummingbird's* wings when it is flying fast. Lumana, to go by with a noise.

Lutaiyet. W. (f.) *Fresh-water snail* (*Physa*).

Luyu. W. (m.) *Dove* shaking head sideways. Luyani, to shake head sideways.

Luyunu. L. (m.) *Bear* taking off leg or arm of person when eating him. Luyani, to shake head sideways.

Lütemü. W. (m.) *Salmon* going fast up riffle. Lutsu, to ascend.

Maiyeño. L. (f.) *Chieftainess.*

Mateumpaiye. L. (f.) Eating *farewell-to-spring* seed raw. Matcu, farewell-to-spring (*Godetia williamsoni*).

Memtba. W. (m.) Tasting *farewell-to-spring* seed after it has been mashed with pestle and while still in mortar. Memttu, to taste.

Mituna. W. (m.) Wrapping a *salmon* with willow stems and leaves after catching it. Mituye, to roll up.

Moemu. L. (m.) *Bears* sitting down looking at each other. Mo'ani, to meet; moeye, to join.

Molestu. W. (m.) Refers to the stone shaped like a *deer's* foot, which brings good luck in deer-hunting to its owner. Mole, a magic stone.

Mona. W. (m.) Getting *jimson weed* seed. Monoyu, jimson weed; monui, Yokuts for jimson weed.

Muliya. L. (m.) Hitting *farewell-to-spring* seed with stick when it is on bush. Mule, to beat or strike.

Mulya. L. (m.) Knocking *acorns* off tree with a long stick. Mule, to beat or strike.

Müle. W. (m.) *Hawk* seizing quail on ground. Mule, to strike.

Notaku. L. (m.) Growling of *bear* as some one passes. Noteaku, to growl.

Noteiteto. W. (m.) *Coyote*, snarling over piece of meat under its foot. Noteu, to cry.

Noteunku. L. (f.) Any kind of *animal* calling. Noteu, to cry.

Omusa. L. (m.) Missing things when shooting with *arrows*. Omsa, to miss with arrows. Another informant gave this man's name as meaning, "Missing deer when shooting at them with arrows."

Otu. W. (m.) Collecting *sea shells* in a basket. Ote, to put in a basket.

Oya. W. (m.) Naming or speaking of the kuiatawila bird (*jacksnipe?*). Oya, to name.

Pati. W. (m.) Twisting willows for carrying *fish*. Patiwe, to break by twisting.
Patiwö. W. (m.) Taking bones from slain *deer*. Patiwe, to break by twisting.
Pikatcö. L. (f.) Sifting *acorn* flour on flat basket by shaking. Pika, to sift.
Pilekuye. W. (f.) *Shell nose-stick* staying in the ocean. Pileku, shell nose-stick.
Polaiyu. W. (m.) *Lake*. Polaiyu, lake, valley, or ocean.
Polneye. W. (f.) *Dove* decoying a person by feigning injury. Polangas, to fall.
Pootci. W. (f.) Cutting *salmon's* belly. Putu, to cut open the belly.
Posala. L. (f.) Pounding *farewell-to-spring* seed. Posa, to burst.
Pusubi. W. (m.) *Fog* blowing up and covering everything. Puselum, to blow.
Pususu. L. (m.) Calling a *dog*. Puus, Yokuts for dog.
Puta. W. (m.) Cutting open a *salmon*. Putu, to cut open the belly.
Putbana. W. (f.) Catching small *fish* with basket. Putbako, to scoop up.
Putceyu. W. (f.) Evil smell of *deer's* large intestine. Puseyu, to stink.
Putkuse. L. (f.) *Acorn* soup boiling. Putkuse, to bubble.
Sakati. L. (m.) *Hawk* (kilikila) catching a lizard. Sakati, a species of lizard.
Sapata. L. (m.) *Bear* hugging tree. Sapatu, to hug.
Sapata. L. (f.) *Bear* dancing with forefeet around tree. Sapatu, to hug.
Sawa. W. (m.) *Rock* on edge of river. Sawa, rock.
Septuye. L. (f.) Taking something, that is burning, from the *fire*. Sipe, to pull out.
Sewati. L. (f.) Curving of *bear's* claws. Sewati, curved.
Sibeta. W. (m.) Pulling white *sucker fish* from under flat rock. Sipe, to pull out.
Simutuye. L. (f.) Pinning together *tree squirrel's* abdomen with stick after gutting. Simute, to pin together.
Sipatu. L. (m.) Softening *fox's* tail after skinning, by repeatedly shoving stick into it. Sipe, to pull out.
Sipinyawo. W. (m.) Breaking *deer's* bone for marrow. Sipe, to pull out.
Sukumi. L. (m.) *Great horned owl*.
Suletu. L. (m.) *California jay* flying out of tree. Sulete, to fly about.
Suletuye. L. (f.) *Falcon* flying from rock. Sulete, to fly about.
Sumteiwe. W. (m.) Plenty of *whiskers*. Sumuteelu, facial hair.
Sumteiwe. L. (f.) Fuzz on *sugar pine* cone when it is young. Evidently this name and the preceding are both derived from a common root, which probably refers alike to fuzz and hair.
Sumuteupti. W. (m.) A name having reference to the person's *whiskers*. Sumuteelu, facial hair.
Supatee. W. (f.) Mashing *seed* with pestle. Supa, to mash.
Taipa. W. (m.) *Valley quail* spreading wings as it alights. Tapa, to spread wings.
Tamulkuyo. W. (f.) From the north. Tamalin, north. Undoubtedly an animate or inanimate object was originally implied. Compare with Teumetoki, *dove* coming from the south.
Tetmö. L. (m.) *Dog* picking up scraps thrown out. Tetöm, to pick up.
Tiponya. L. (m.) *Great horned owl* sticking head under body and poking egg when it is hatching. Tipe, to poke.
Tiwatuyak. W. (f.) Trading and buying *beads*. Tiwako, to trade.
Tiwitita. W. (m.) *Killdeer* running on ground and calling. Tewititi, killdeer.
Tolkateu. L. (f.) Small ears of the *bear*. Tolko, ear in Southern Sierra dialect.
Totokono. W. (m.) *Sandhill crane*.
Tuiwü. L. (m.) *California jay* hopping on ground. Tuiyangum, to jump.

Tukeye. L. (f.) *Pine* cones dropping and making dust. Tukini, to throw endwise.

Tukuli. W. (m.) *Caterpillar* traveling head first down tree in summer. Tukini, to throw endwise.

Tumma. L. (m.) Beating *drum*. Tuma, drum.

Tupi. W. (m.) Throwing *salmon* on to bank. Tupi, to pull up or out.

Tutee. W. (m.) Small *frog* jumping. Tutneni, to squat.

Teeweksu. L. (m.) *Tree squirrel* eating green pine cones. Teiwam, to chew.

Teintiye. L. (f.) Pressing or pounding *buckeye* nuts. Teiniwa, to squeeze.

Teinwe. W. (m.) Squeezing intestines out of *minnows*. Teiniwa, to squeeze.

Teitepu. W. (m.) Shining of *abalone* shell. Teitepu, to shine.

Teititi. L. (m.) Green like *katydid*. Teitaku, green.

Teumetokti. W. (m.) *Dove* coming from the south. Teumete, south.

Uhubita. W. (m.) Drinking *water* in the river. Uhu, to drink, in Southern and Northern Sierra dialects.

Uhubitu. W. (m.) Ill-smelling stagnant *water*. Uhu, to drink, in Southern and Northern Sierra dialects.

Ukulnuye. L. (f.) *Bear* taking young into den. Uku, to enter.

Ukunulumaiye. L. (f.) *Bear* going into den. Uku, to enter; emaiye, to visit.

Utatei. L. (f.) *Bear* scratching itself. Utas, to scratch.

Uzumati. W. (m.) Grizzly *bear*. A nickname applied on account of a disagreeable disposition.

Wauna. W. (m.) *Snow geese* calling when flying. Woani, to bark; wou, to crow, to whine.

Wialu. W. (m.) *Dove* going away. Wialum, to leave.

Wootei. L. (m.) *Coyote* barking. Woani, to bark; wou, to whine, to crow.

Woto. L. (m.) *Coyote* sitting on rock barking and moving tail. Woani, to bark; wou, to whine, to crow.

Wunuti. W. (m.) *Hunting-man*. Wuntu, to hunt.

Wüksü. L. (m.) *Sun* going down. Wuksu, to go.

Yotimö. L. (m.) *Yellow-jacket* carrying pieces of meat from house to nest. Yoote, to carry.

Yotimö. L. (m.) *Yellow-jacket* carrying pieces of meat from house to nest. Yoote, to carry. This man is the son of the above.

Yottoko. W. (m.) Black *mud* at edge of water. Yottoko, dirty; yotok, earth or dirt in Plains Miwok. The individual was a negro.

Yutkiye. L. (f.) Chicken hawk lifting ground squirrel off of the ground. Yütki, to hang.

Yutteiso. L. (f.) Lice thick on *chicken hawk*. Yutuk, to stick on.

Yutue. W. (m.) *Falcon* making nest damp by defecating on it. Yutuk, to stick on.

Yutu. W. (m.) *Coyote* making feint to seize bird. Yutme, to claw.

The list which follows gives personal names as rendered into English by the Indians, but the exact denotations of which are unknown to the writer:

A'a'me. W. (f.) *Dove* cooing to young.

Akunatala. W. (m.) Retiring to attend to natural functions.

Almase. W. (m.).

Amayeta. L. (m.) Big *manzanita* berries.

Anawuye. L. (m.) Stretching *bear's* hide to dry.
Ape. W. (m.) Eating *acorn* mush with the fingers.
Bakno. L. (m.) Missing people with *arrows*.
Bosaiya. L. (f.) White down on head of young *eagle*.
Cüsua. L. (m.) *Hawk* (kilikila) catching small birds.
Elsu. W. (m.) *Falcon* circling high in air.
Esege. L. (f.) *Bear* showing teeth when cross.
Eskeye. L. (m.) *Farewell-to-spring* seed cracked open on bush.
Ewenteu. W. (m.) *Deer* eating brush.
Hahiyo. W. (m.) *Salmon* keeping mouth open when in shallow water.
Haikiwisu. W. (m.) *Salmon* opening and closing mouth after being taken from river.
Haiyepugu. L. (m.) *Bear* becoming angry suddenly.
Hateaiya. W. (f.) Black *clouds* in streaks.
Hehemuye. L. (f.) *Bear* out of breath from running.
Hiteta. W. (m.).
Hoho. L. (m.) *Bear* growling.
Hoiyitealu. L. (m.) *Bear* becoming angry.
Hokoiyu. W. (m.) *Falcon* hiding extra food.
Hotamuye. W. (f.) Man on rockpile watching for *deer*.
Hoteakme. W. (m.) Spearing *salmon*.
Huata. W. (f.) Carrying *seeds* in burden basket.
Huatama. L. (f.) Mashing *seeds* in mortar.
Hulutuye. W. (f.) *Abalone* shell on necklace when dancing.
Hulwema. L. (f.) Dead grizzly *bear*, killed by hunter.
Hunui. W. (m.) *Salmon* fat.
Hushu. L. (m.) *Bear* having lots of hair.
Hustemeyak. W. (m.) Putting *fresh-water snails* (*Physa*) in bags.
Hutamsi. W. (f.) *Fish* getting together in a bunch.
Hute. L. (m.) *Stars* appearing which form handle of the Dipper.
Huteumi. L. (m.) *Bear* eating people.
Huyube. W. (m.) *White oak* log lying on ground.
Hümüta. L. (f.) Gathering Indian *tobacco* (hutia) in sifting basket.
Ilokuk. L. (f.) Softness of leaves of "*wild potato*" when cooking.
Iskemu. W. (m.) *Water* running gently when creek dries.
Istu. L. (m.) *Sugar pine* sugar.
Iteimuye. L. (f.) *Magpie* eating grasshopperr.
Kaliska. L. (m.) *Coyote* chasing deer.
Kamata. W. (f.) Throwing *gambling bones* on ground in hand game.
Kanatu. W. (m.) Making mashed *seed* into hard lump.
Kaptiuü. W. (m.) Breaking *ice* in the creek.
Kateukteume. L. (m.) *Bear* lying down with paws folded, doing nothing.
Ka'uwu. L. (m.) *Acorn* mush cooling and thickening in basket.
Kauwiluye. W. (f.) *Ice* freezing on something.
Kono. L. (m.) *Tree squirrel* biting through middle of pine-nut.
Kulmuye. L. (f.) *Bear* eating young leaves just sprouting.
Kulya. L. (m.) *Sugar pine* nuts burned black.
Laapisak. L. (f.) *Bear* walking on one place making ground hard.
Lanku. L. (m.) Said to be a Yokuts name.
Lanu. L. (m.) People passing one another at the *pota ceremony*, when running around pole.

La'uyu. L. (m.) Mashed *farewell-to-spring* seed adhering to lips when eating.
Leyati. W. (m.) Shape of *abalone* shell.
Lii. W. (m.) *Turtle* poking head out of water.
Liktuye. L. (f.) *Bear* licking something it has killed.
Liluye. L. (f.) *Chicken hawk* singing when soaring.
Lise. W. (m.) *Salmon's* head just coming out of water.
Litcitu. W. (m.) *Salmon* swimming in river.
Loiyetu. L. (m.) *Farewell-to-spring* in flower.
Loiyetuye. L. (f.) *Farewell-to-spring* in flower.
Lokni. W. (m.) *Rain* coming through small hole in roof.
Luituye. L. (f.) *Bear* crippled from being shot.
Lukulkatu. L. (m.) Making *fox*-skin quiver.
Lupu. W. (f.) Iridescence of *abalone* shell.
Lusela. L. (f.) *Bear* swinging its foot when licking it.
Lutelu. L. (m.) *Goldfinch* flying.
Makuina. L. (m.) *Bear* hating people.
Makuina. L. (m.) Knocking *farewell-to-spring* seed off bush with stick.
Malataku. W. (m.) *Clouds* covering the sky.
Malila. W. (m.) *Salmon* going fast up riffle.
Malkuyu. W. (m.) *Farewell-to-spring* flowers drying.
Matcinina. W. (m.) *Salmon* jumping falls and missing.
Mateuta. L. (f.) Cracking and eating *sugar pine* nuts.
Metikla. W. (m.) Reaching hand under rocks to catch white *sucker fish*.
Metikla. W. (m.) Putting on *metakila* (feather apron).
Miltaiye. W. (f.) *Water* in waves.
Misu. W. (m.) Rippling *water*.
Moitoiye. W. (f.) *Valley quail's* topknot bobbing as bird walks.
Molimö. L. (m.) *Bear* going into shade of trees.
Momosu. L. (m.) *Yellow-jackets* piled up in nest in winter.
Mosetuya. W. (m.) Dark-looking *water* on the ocean.
Mu'ata. L. (m.) Little *yellow-jackets* in the nest.
Mukuye. W. (f.) Old trail of *deer*.
Musonota. L. (f.) *Magpie* jumping on the ground.
Musonotoma. W. (f.) Coloring of *valley quail*.
Mutekuye. L. (f.) Taking *bow* and *arrows* from wall to go shooting.
Mükü. W. (m.) *Deer* making trail when walking back and forth.
Namino. L. (m.) *Hawk* (kilikila) pulling at food, lifting its head as it does.
Naminu. W. (m.) *Coyote* feeling weak after eating salmon.
Nateamila. W. (f.) Stirring *acorn* mush when cooking.
Neplü. L. (m.) *Bear* eating a man.
Newulo. W. (m.).
Nikiti. W. (m.) Round and smooth like *abalone* shell.
Nimo. W. (m.).
Niwuye. L. (f.) Getting *seed*.
Noini. L. (m.) Putting *sonolu* (feather head-ornament) on head.
Nokonyu. L. (m.) *Katydid's* nose being close to its mouth.
Noksu. L. (m.) Smell of *chicken hawk's* (suyu) nest.
Nomasu. W. (m.) Giving away (handing to some one) *seed*. Another informant said that nomasu was the name of a kind of seed.
Oiyikoisiye. L. (f.) Getting *salt* at a place near Copperopolis.
Oñalik. W. (m.) Making *bows* out of cedar.

Onpume. W. (f.) *Coyote* about to catch something.
Osepa. W. (f.).
Osmokse. L. (m.) *Hawk* (kilikila) eating dead birds.
Osoi. W. (m.) Becoming angry. Undoubtedly this name originally had an implied reference to some animal, since forgotten.
Panahateu. L. (m.) Twisting and breaking open *sugar pine* cones.
Papina. L. (m.) *Vine* growing on oak tree.
Pasatu. L. (m.) *Bear's* big foot.
Paseleno. W. (f.) Getting wild *vetch*.
Patakasü. W. (m.) Small *ant* biting a person hard.
Patcuka. W. (m.).
Peeluyak. L. (m.) *Bear* flapping ears when sitting down.
Pele'me. L. (m.) *Coyote* with head down passing person.
Pelisu. W. (m.) Eating *fish* at river for lunch when on fishing expedition.
Petno. W. (m.) *Valley quail* crouching in brush as hawk passes.
Peusuye. W. (f.) *Water* spilling over.
Piliteyano. L. (m.) *Jack rabbit* putting ears back when lying down.
Piltcitema. W. (f.) *Meadowlark* singing.
Pososu. L. (m.) Color of down of young *great horned owl*.
Posululu. W. (f.) *Frog* puffed up when singing.
Pota. L. (m.) One man running around *pota ceremony* pole.
Potcu'e. W. (m.) Kicking *football*. Potce, to kick.
Puitcitu. W. (m.).
Pukuna. W. (f.) *Deer* jumping when running downhill.
Pumsönö. W. (m.) *Sucker fish* jumping out of water.
Puñoi. L. (m.) *Tree squirrel* jumping from pine to ground.
Pusui. W. (m.) *Turkey vulture* putting rattlesnake to sleep by circling over it.
Pusuwe. W. (m.) Cutting *deer* for skinning.
Putepu. L. (m.) *Chicken hawk* (suyu) walking back and forth on limb.
Putsume. L. (m.) Brushing ground around pole before *pota ceremony*.
Putsume. L. (m.) *Bear* sitting on top of big rock with soles of feet turned forward, legs spread.
Sakasaiyu. L. (f.) *Chicken hawk* (suyu) making a rough nest with holes in it.
Samtuye. W. (f.) Reaching for *deer* meat when some one is handing it around.
Sanuye. L. (f.) Red *cloud* coming with sundown.
Sata. W. (m.) Throwing *salmon* out of water.
Satuwü. L. (f.) Rubbing *farewell-to-spring* seed with rock after it has been soaked.
Selibu. L. (f.) *Falcon* flying along edge of bluff.
Selipu. L. (f.) *Falcon* darting down obliquely in the air.
Selümtci. L. (m.) Shooting *arrow* up in air.
Semeke. L. (f.) *Bear* lying down looking at ground.
Semuki. L. (m.) *Bear* looking cross when in its den during snow.
Semuki. L. (f.) *Wizard* (tuyuku) with fingers bent to shoot "poison" at victim.
Siitu. L. (m.) *Magpie's* head cut off.
Sitala. W. (f.) *Valley quail* running uphill.
Sitki. L. (m.) Putting *arrow* in quiver.
Sitni. W. (m.) Drawing *bow*.
Sitpu. L. (m.) Cracking bones of *badger* after it has been cooked.
Situtu. W. (m.) Taking *arrow* out of *quiver*.

Situtuyu. L. (m.) Running hand down branch over basket and collecting *berries* that way.
Siweno. L. (m.) Taking out *bear's* gall.
Siwili. L. (m.) Long tail of *fox* dragging on ground.
Sokawa. W. (m.) Taking eye out of dead *deer,* or taking hide off.
Sokono. W. (m.) Wizard's "poison."
Solasu. L. (m.) *Bear* taking bark off tree.
Soloni. W. (m.) A *place name* in Mariposa County.
Solotci. L. (m.) *Jack rabbit* sitting with ears up in the morning or evening.
Soñeyu. L. (m.) *Bear* walking with its short tail hanging down.
Sopatcu. L. (m.) Raven-feather *sonolu* (head ornament) shaking on head of dancer.
Soso. L. (m.) *Tree squirrel* biting small hole in pine nut.
Su'aiye. L. (f.).
Suki. L. (m.) *Chicken hawk* (suyu) having a long tail.
Suk'kaa. L. (m.) Getting ahead of others in digging "*wild potatoes.*"
Sukukiye. L. (f.) Flat place near Rawhide.
Sunumptca. L. (f.) Old and spoiled *sugar pine* nuts.
Sutuluye. L. (f.) *Bear* making noise climbing tree.
Ta'kawa. W. (m.) *Mountain lion* took his scalp off.
Ta'kawa. L. (m.) White head of the bald *eagle.*
Takeña. W. (m.) *Falcon* swooping and knocking down prey with its wing.
Taktekaiyu. W. (m.) *Deer* running on the hills.
Takutcima. L. (f.) Husking *seed* with stick on flat rock.
Talalu. W. (m.) Big long flat *rock.*
Tanatcio. W. (m.) *Coyote* poor and thin.
Talatu. L. (m.) *Bear* walking around tree, steps close together.
Talepuye. W. (f.) Polishing *abalone* shell.
Talulu. W. (m.) *Falcon* eating bird.
Taukiyak. L. (m.) Two *arrows* crossed, held by two warriors standing on either side of trail guarding it with drawn *bows.*
Tawitci. W. (m.) *Turkey vulture* defecating around nest.
Telumi. L. (m.) *Tree squirrel* taking shell off of nut.
Telumu. L. (f.) Pounding *farewell-to-spring* seed in deep mortar.
Tentpaiyu. W. (f.) A person feeling hungry while sitting beside one who mashes *seeds.*
Tiimü. W. (m.) Black and yellow *caterpillar* coming out of ground.
Tikmu. L. (m.) *Tree squirrel* digging in ground.
Tiktcu. W. (m.) *Jacksnipe* (?) digging "wild potatoes" (susa).
Tiputa. W. (f.) *Valley quail* hiding young when some one passes.
Titci. L. (f.) *Bear* making motion at every jump when running.
Tiwintcu. W. (m.) *Killdeer* flying and calling.
Tiwolu. L. (m.) *Chicken hawk* (suyu) turning eggs with bill when they are hatching.
Tokkoko. W. (m.) *Burrowing owl* coming out of hole and calling "tok kok." Apparently an onomatopoetic name.
Tokoak. L. (f.) Refers to a place near Rawhide where the parents of the woman lived.
Tokolasik. W. (f.) Black-oak *acorns* getting rotten in water, having been forgotten.
Toktokolu. L. (m.).

Tolikna. W. (f.) *Coyote's* long ears flapping.
Toloise. W. (m.) *Deer* lying down and looking up at some one coming.
Toloisi. L. (f.) *Chicken hawk* tearing gopher snake with talons.
Tololi. L. (m.) Digging for "*wild potato*" (moa).
Tolopoiyu. L. (m.) A big-leaved *vine* which grows on ground.
Tolsowe. W. (m.) *Deer* standing, head up, ears erect, looking around.
Tolsowe. W. (m.) *Deer's* ears erect when it is looking around.
Tonolu. L. (m.) Spotting on *California jay*.
Tueñu. W. (m.) *Turkey vulture* lighting on rock or tree.
Tuikuye. W. (f.) *Wizard* killing person with "poison."
Tuketü. L. (m.) *Bear* making dust when running.
Tukubi. W. (m.) *Tukutucu bird* singing.
Tulanu. L. (m.) Two or three *bears* taking food from one another.
Tulmisnye. L. (f.) *Bear* walking slowly and gently.
Tumakaiyu. L. (m.) *Bear* remaining stubbornly in hole when people try to get it out.
Tumptea. L. (m.) Smoking Indian *tobacco* (hutia).
Tunaa. W. (m.) *Salmon's* intestines pulling out like string.
Tunaa. W. (m.) Spotting on *sununu fish* (catfish?).
Tuñelu. L. (m.) *Hawk* (kilikila) roosting on top of a pine tree.
Tusimi. W. (m.) *Wizard's* "poison" hurting victim.
Tusuwe. W. (m.) Poking *deer's* stomach with stick, while it is cooking with meat and blood inside of it, to see if it is done.
Tutaiyati. L. (m.) *California jay* "cackling" when singing.
Tuwume. L. (f.) *Arrow* sticking in pota ceremony pole.
Tülemuyak. L. (m.) Morning *star* rising.
Tünü. W. (m.) *Deer* thinking about going to eat "wild onions."
Tüsüku. W. (m.) Easy breaking of *shell nose-stick*.
Tcaksepnye. L. (f.) Getting light in the morning (*dawn*).
Tcanateimu. L. (f.) *Tree squirrel* "singing."
Tcanutnye. W. (f.) *Valley quail* scattering as they fly.
Tcasibu. L. (m.) *Sun* hurting eyes.
Tcatipü. W. (f.) *Deer's* antlers hitting brush when deer is running.
Tcawiteu. L. (m.).
Tcilawi. W. (m.) One getting ahead of others in gathering *farewell-to-spring* seed. Another informant gave the connotation of this name as "cutting *salmon* in strips."
Tcilikna. L. (m.) A certain species of small *hawk* flying.
Tcipliteu. L. (m.).
Tcipuyu. W. (f.) Tying up *salmon* in willow branches before cooking.
Tcistu. L. (m.) A *night bird* calling "tcik! tcik!"
Tcitatpo. L. (m.) *Creeper* (akantoto) going down tree.
Tciwela. W. (m.) Sides of *falcon's* nest covered with excrement.
Tciwu. W. (m.) *Valley quail* defecating as it flies.
Tciyiño. W. (m.).
Tcoileka. W. (f.) *Water* standing in one place.
Tcokotca. W. (m.) Big *cocoon* on tree.
Tcoteka. W. (m.) Sound of *water* in creek.
Tcuimukse. W. (m.) Big *black bee*, with yellow spots, gathering pollen.
Tcuke. L. (m.) Throwing seed on roof of ceremonial house after catching young of *hawk* (itítu), so that people will not become sick.

Teukitcko. W. (f.) *Deer's* intestines.
Teukpaiye. L. (f.) Piling up stems of *farewell-to-spring.*
Teuktoko. W. (m.) People arriving on time to eat *deer* meat.
Teukululuye. L. (f.) *Bear* making so much noise when walking that it frightens other creatures.
Teulu. L. (m.) Cooking *acorns* in ashes.
Teumaanuye. L. (f.) Crushing *manzanita* berries in mortar.
Teumela. L. (f.) *Bears* dancing in the hills.
Teumutuya. L. (f.) *Bear* catching salmon with paws in riffle.
Teuteubi. L. (m.) *Sun* hurting eyes as it comes up over a hill.
Teuttoko. W. (m.) Lumps around base of *deer's* antler.
Umlutuya. L. (m.) Soaking *seed* in water on arrival home after collecting.
Umuye. L. (f.) Damp *ground.*
Uptuye. W. (f.) Piling up *buckeye* nuts for cooking.
Usepyu. L. (m.) *Bear* eating something it finds dead.
Uskuye. L. (f.) Cracking *sugar pine* nuts.
Utnepa. L. (m.) *Bear* rolling rock with foot when pursuing something.
Utunya. L. (f.) *Falcon,* with feathers of neck ruffled up, dashing down for prey.
Ututse. L. (m.) Tasting *salt* after it has been boiled down in hole in rock.
Ŭlemsü. L. (m.) *Bear* sleeping in hole.
Waketnu. L. (m.) Indians shouting as they draw *bows* when fighting.
Wasekuye. W. (f.) Fragments of *acorns* being scattered by pestle.
Wasilu. L. (m.) Putting on a *quail-crest ear-plug.*
Wasilu. W. (f.) Putting on a *quail-crest ear-plug.*
Wassusme. L. (f.) *Bear* standing on hind feet scratching tree.
Wenitu. L. (m.) Mixing different kinds of *seeds* in same basket when gathering them.
Wenutu. L. (m.) *Sky* clearing after being cloudy.
Wilanu. L. (m.) Pouring water on *acorn* flour in leaching place.
Wilu. L. (m.) *Chicken hawk* (suyu) calling "wi."
Wiluye. L. (f.) *Eagle* singing when flying.
Wininu. L. (m.) *Falcon* circling in air.
Wipupamu. L. (f.) Tearing people to pieces with mouth. This name may originally have had an implied reference to some animal, more than likely the bear.
Witteuna. L. (m.) *Falcon* pulling feathers off quail.
Wopemü. L. (m.) *Bear* bearing down a small tree when climbing it.
Wuyi. W. (m.) *Turkey vulture* soaring.
Yalnta. L. (f.) Women out on flat telling one another there is lots of *farewell-to-spring* seed.
Yanapaiyak. W. (m.) Little *clouds* passing by sun and making small shadows.
Yatealu. W. (m.) *Deer's* antlers spreading wide.
Yeleyu. L. (m.) Going at *night,* walking in the dark. Perhaps this name originally had an implied reference to some animal which habitually traveled at night.
Yelutei. L. (f.) *Bear* traveling among rocks and brush without making noise.
Yenateu. L. (f.) Little *acorn* just beginning to grow on tree.
Yenene. W. (m.) *Wizard* pressing with fingers on a sleeping person to "poison" him.
Yewetca. L. (f.) *Bear* wasting away at death.

Yokoa. L. (m.) *Bad man* killing every one.
Yoskolo. L. (m.) Breaking off a piece of *acorn*.
Yoskolo. L. (m.) Breaking off *sugar pine* cones.
Yukukukuye. W. (f.) Noise made by *dove* with wings when flying. Another informant gave the meaning of this name as "the sound made by a rolling stone."
Yulestu. L. (m.) *Hawk* (kilikila) calling as it alights.
Yutteñe. W. (m.) *Seeds* getting wet owing to a leaky roof.

In sixteen instances I obtained more than one name for an individual. This was due in some cases to conflicting testimony as to the real name; in other cases the additional name was a nickname. A comparison of the meanings of real names and nicknames shows no special rule in the assigning of the latter. Sometimes the object mentioned or implied in the nickname is the same as in the real name; for example, the name Akaino and the nickname Husln both refer to the bear. At other times the objects implied are different; for example, the name Lutelu refers to the goldfinch, while the nickname Wasilu refers to the quail-crest ear-plug. Some nicknames are applied on account of personal peculiarities; for example, the real name of one of my informants was Molestu, a name which referred to a magic stone connected with deer hunting, while among his nicknames were Sumteiwe and Sumuteupti, which were more or less derisive names referring to his unusually full beard. Other nicknames such as Tiktcu and Kaptinü are probably derived from Dick and Captain, the English names applied respectively to the two people in question. Typical connotations were obtained for these two nicknames, however, the first referring to a bird (probably the jacksnipe), the second to ice. The real names of the individuals who bore these two nicknames were Hunui, meaning "salmon fat," and Luyu, meaning "dove shaking head sideways." Still other nicknames refer to events in the person's life. A man named Mosetuya, "dark-looking water on the ocean," bore the nickname Ta'kawa, "mountain lion took his scalp off," because of his adventure with a mountain lion.

None of the nicknames obtained apply to women. In the following table the first column contains the individual's correct name so far as ascertainable. The second column contains another name alleged to be the real name, but which I have discarded as unlikely. The presence of this column is due to conflicting testimony. The third column contains nicknames. In parentheses, following each name, is mentioned the object referred to in the meaning of the name given in the preceding lists.

Real name	Alleged name	Nickname
Akaino (bear)		Huslu (bear)
Bakno (arrow)		Yokoa (bad man)
Elki (bear)		Tulanu (bear)
Eñeto (bear)	Ukunnunu (bear)	
Huuui (salmon)		Tiktcu (jacksnipe?)
Lutelu (goldfinch)		Wasilu (quail-crest ear-plug)
Luyu (dove)		Kaptinü (ice)
Luyunu (bear)		Tumptca (tobacco)
Molestu (deer)	Wialu (dove)	Iskemu (water)
		Sumtciwe (whiskers)
		Sumutcupti (whiskers)
Mosetuya (water)		Ta'kawa (mountain lion)
Sapata (bear)	Pasatu (bear)	
Sitni (bow)	Puta (salmon)	
Totokono (sandhill crane)	Oya (jacksnipe?)	
Teiyiño	Nimo	Akunatala
Ukulnuye (bear)	Semeke (bear)	
Yutteñe (seed)	Tanatcio (coyote)	

The objects mentioned or implied in the personal names presented on pages 148 to 159 are listed below in three tabulations. The first two show the objects and phenomena mentioned or implied in water moiety names and in land moiety names, respectively. The third table lists objects common to the moieties. The figures indicate the number of names which have reference to the objects listed.

WATER MOIETY

Abalone	6	Metakila (feather apron)	1
Acorn	3	Minnow	1
Ant	1	Mountain lion	1
Beads	1	Mud	1
Black bee	1	Oak-leaf gall-nut	1
Bow, arrow, quiver	3	Physa (fresh-water snail)	2
Buckeye	1	Place name	1
Burrowing owl	1	Rain	2
Caterpillar	2	Quail-crest ear-plug	1
Cloud	3	Rock	3
Cocoon	1	Salamander	1
Coyote	6	Salmon	21
Deer	23	Sand	1
Dove	6	Sandhill crane	1
Elderberry	1	Seashell	1
Falcon	6	Seed	7
Farewell-to-spring	3	Shell nose-stick	2
Fish	5	Snow goose	1
Fog	1	Sucker fish	3
Football	1	Sununu fish	1
Frog	3	Tukutucu bird	1
Gambling bones	1	Turkey vulture	4
Hawk	1	Turtle	2
Hummingbird	2	Valley quail	9
Hunting man	1	Vetch	1
Ice	2	Water	10
Jacksnipe (?)	3	Whiskers	2
Jimson weed	1	White oak	1
Killdeer	2	"Wild cabbage"	1
Lake	1	"Wild potato"	2
Lightning	1	Wizard	4
Meadowlark	1		

LAND MOIETY

Acorn	8	Katydid	2
Animal	1	Lizard	1
Bad man	1	Magpie	3
Badger	1	Manzanita	2
Bear	69	Night	1
Berries	1	Night bird	1
Bow, arrow, quiver	9	Pine nuts	2
Buckeye	1	Place name	2
California jay	4	Pota ceremony	4
Chicken hawk	10	Quail-crest ear-plug	1
Chieftainess	1	Salt	2
Cloud	1	Seed	7
Coyote	4	Sky	1
Creeper	1	Sonolu (feather head-ornament)	2
Dawn	1	Stars	2
Dog	3	Sugar pine	8
Drum	1	Sun	5
Eagle	3	Sunny day	1
Falcon	6	Tobacco	2
Farewell-to-spring	12	Tule	1
Fire	1	Tree squirrel	8
Fox	3	Vine	2
Goldfinch	1	"Wild potato"	4
Great horned owl	3	Wizard	1
Ground	1	Wood	1
Hawk	9	Yellow-jacket	6
Jack rabbit	2		

OBJECTS COMMON TO THE MOIETIES

	Occurrences			Occurrences	
Object	Water	Land	Object	Water	Land
Acorn	3	8	Hawk	1	9
Bow, arrow, quiver	3	9	Place name	1	2
Buckeye	1	1	Quail-crest ear-plug	1	1
Cloud	3	1	Seed	7	7
Coyote	6	4	"Wild potato"	2	4
Falcon	6	6	Wizard	4	1
Farewell-to-spring	3	12			

Marriages

Ninety-nine marriages were recorded among the Central Sierra Miwok, thirty-two of these being from Big Creek alone. In the following table proper marriages, that is, between individuals of different moieties, are indicated by W-L; improper marriages, that is, between individuals of the same moiety, are indicated by W-W for the water moiety and L-L for the land moiety.

	W-L	W-W	L-L	Percentage of proper marriages	Percentage of improper marriages
Village at Big Creek	26	5	1	81	19
Central Sierra Miwok, except Big Creek people	48	1	18	72	28
Central Sierra Miwok in general	74	6	19	75	25

The figures for Big Creek include marriages of such individuals whose names and meanings of names were not obtained. The figures for the Central Sierra Miwok exclusive of Big Creek do not include these.

In the above table it is to be noted that Big Creek has a lower percentage of improper marriages than the remainder of the Central Sierra Miwok region. Cross-cousin marriage which occurred there gave a wider choice of mates in the proper moiety by not restricting choice to non-relatives and distant relatives. This perhaps tended to keep down the number of improper (endogamous as to moiety) marriages.

The two following tables list, in alphabetical order of husbands' names, all of the Miwok marriages of which record has been obtained.

BIG CREEK MARRIAGES

Husband	Moiety	Named after	Wife	Moiety	Named after
Eñeto	L	Bear	Miltaiye	W	Water
Hauteu	W	Salmon	Putbana	W	Fish
Hauteu	W	Salmon	Utatei	L	Bear
Liteitu	W	Salmon	Maiyeño	L	Chieftainess
Liwanu	L	Bear	Tolikna	W	Coyote
Luyunu	L	Bear	Kauwiluye	W	Ice
Molimö	L	Bear	Bosaiya	L	Eagle
Nomasu	W	Seed	Tulmisuye	L	Bear
Nomasu	W	Seed	Wiluye	L	Eagle
Noteiteto	W	Coyote	Putkuse	L	Acorn
Omusa	L	Arrow	Posululu	W	Frog
Patakasü	W	Ant	Yewetca	L	Bear
Pelisu	W	Fish	Liluye	L	Chicken hawk
Sapata	L	Bear	Atre	W	Salmon
Sapata	L	Bear	Pilekuye	W	Shell nose-stick
Talalu	W	Rock	Niwuye	L	Seed
Tunaa	W	Salmon	Simutuye	L	Tree squirrel
Tüsüku	W	Shell nose-stick	Etumüye	L	Bear
Teilawi	W	Salmon (also seed)	Umuye	L	Ground
Wuyi	W	Turkey vulture	Titei	L	Bear
Yottoko	W	Mud	Ukunnlumaiye	L	Bear
Yutteñe	W	Seed	Teanateimu	L	Tree squirrel

MARRIAGES, EXCLUSIVE OF BIG CREEK

Husband	Moiety	Named after	Wife	Moiety	Named after
Eskeye	L	Farewell-to-spring	Mateumpaiye	L	Farewell-to-spring
Eskeye	L	Farewell-to-spring	Sumteiwe	L	Sugar pine
Hatawa	L	Bear	Pilteitema	W	Meadowlark
Hatawa	L	Bear	Sumteiwe	L	Sugar pine
Haikiwisu	W	Salmon	Semuki	L	Wizard
Hunipte	L	Seed	Polneye	W	Dove
Kilikila	L	Hawk	Huatama	L	Seed
Kono	L	Tree squirrel	Nateamila	W	Acorn
Kukse	W	Valley quail	Hesutuye	L	Yellow-jacket
Kuteuyak	L	Bear	Musonotoma	W	Valley quail
Litaña	W	Hummingbird	Laapisak	L	Bear
Lukulkatu	L	Fox	Mukuye	W	Deer
Lukulkatu	L	Fox	Oiyikoisiye	L	Salt
Lutelu	L	Goldfinch	Tiputa	W	Valley quail
Lütemü	W	Salmon	Hümüta	L	Tobacco
Malila	W	Salmon	Teumutuye	L	Bear
Malkuyu	W	Farewell-to-spring	Iteimuye	L	Magpie
Metikla	W	Sucker fish	Selipu	L	Falcon
Molestu	W	Deer	Uskuye	L	Sugar pine

Husband	Moiety	Named after	Wife	Moiety	Named after
Mulya	L	Acorn	Yaluta	L	Farewell-to-spring
Mulya	L	Acorn	Yukukukuye	W	Dove
Mükü	W	Deer	Tcumela	L	Bear
Neplü	L	Bear	Kusetuye	W	"Wild potato"
Pati	W	Fish	Tiputa	W	Valley quail
Patiwö	W	Deer	Yutteiso	L	Chicken hawk
Pele'me	L	Coyote	Posala	L	Farewell-to-spring
Pososu	L	Great horned owl	Loiyetuye	L	Farewell-to-spring
Pososu	L	Great horned owl	Yaluta	L	Farewell-to-spring
Potcu'e	W	Football	Hisokuye	L	Bear
Puñoi	L	Tree squirrel	Liptuye	L	Pine nuts
Putsume	L	Bear	Pukuna	W	Deer
Sipatu	L	Fox	Pukuna	W	Deer
Sitni	W	Bow	Sapata	L	Bear
Sitni	W	Bow	Toloisi	L	Chicken hawk
Sitni	W	Bow	Yutteiso	L	Chicken hawk
Situtu	W	Arrow, quiver	Sewati	L	Bear
Sokono	W	Wizard	Matcuta	L	Pine nuts
Solotei	L	Jackrabbit	Epeta	L	Lizard
Soso	L	Tree squirrel	Wasekuye	W	Acorn
Suki	L	Chicken hawk	Tcipuyu	W	Salmon
Sukumi	L	Great horned owl	Talepuye	W	Abalone
Sukumi	L	Great horned owl	Wasilu	W	Quail-crest ear-plug
Suletu	L	California jay	Tcaksepuye	L	Dawn
Takeña	W	Hawk	Kututcanati	L	Bear
Talatu	L	Bear	Huata	W	Seed
Tawitci	W	Turkey vulture	Kututcanati	L	Bear
Tawitci	W	Turkey vulture	Satuwü	L	Farewell-to-spring
Telumi	L	Tree squirrel	Paseleno	W	Vetch
Tikmu	L	Tree squirrel	Samtuye	W	Deer
Tikmu	L	Tree squirrel	Tuikuye	W	Wizard
Tolsowe	W	Deer	Ukulnuye	L	Bear
Tumma	L	Drum	Pikatcö	L	Acorn
Tunaa	W	Sunuun fish	Selibu	L	Falcon
Tunaa	W	Sununu fish	Utunya	L	Falcon
Tcilikna	L	Hawk	Tcukpaiye	L	Farewell-to-spring
Teititi	L	Katydid	Heteltei	L	Pota ceremony
Tcuimukse	W	Black bee	Tuwume	L	Arrow
Tcutcubi	L	Sun	Hateya	L	Bear
Umlutuya	L	Seed	Sukukiye	L	Place name
Wenitu	L	Seed	Musonota	L	Magpie
Wininu	L	Falcon	Lupu	W	Abalone
Wininu	L	Falcon	Yukukukuye	W	Dove
Witteuna	L	Falcon	Putceyu	W	Deer
Wootei	L	Coyote	Yukukukuye	W	Dove
Wüksü	L	Sun	Lupu	W	Abalone
Yotimö	L	Yellow-jacket	Samtuye	W	Deer

A berdache, Muliya, who was named after farewell-to-spring and belonged to the land moiety, was "married" to Taktekaiyu, a water moiety man named after deer. It seems possible that the exogamic rules regulated berdache "marriages." However, this is the only such union recorded, and the evidence is therefore insufficient. Berdaches were not infrequent. Out of five mentioned among Jamestown and Knights Ferry people, Muliya is the only one whose name was obtained. He and Taktekaiyu lived together at Tcakatcino, near Jamestown.

In the three following tables are summarized all of the regular marriages of three groups of people—those with deer, salmon, and bear names. These three groups of names are the commonest among the Central Sierra Miwok. The absence of any rule in the choice of mates, other than moiety exogamy, is apparent. That is to say, for example, men with bear names did not regularly marry women who were named after one particular animal. So long as the women were of the proper moiety it did not matter what they were named after. Certain marriages occur in more than one table; for example, a deer-bear marriage would appear under both deer and bear. Irregular or endogamic marriages are excluded.

People with deer names	Married to	Number of occurrences
Man	Sugar pine	1
Man	Bear	2
Man	Chicken hawk	1
Woman	Fox	2
Woman	Bear	1
Woman	Tree squirrel	1
Woman	Falcon	1
Woman	Yellow-jacket	1

People with salmon names	Married to	Number of occurrences
Man	Bear	2
Man	Chieftainess	1
Man	Ground	1
Man	Tree squirrel	1
Man	Fish	1
Man	Wizard	1
Man	Tobacco	1
Woman	Bear	1
Woman	Chicken hawk	1

People with bear names	Married to	Number of occurrences
Man	Water	1
Man	Coyote	1
Man	Ice	1
Man	Salmon	1
Man	Shell nose-stick	1
Man	Meadowlark	1
Man	Valley quail	1
Man	Deer	1
Man	Seed	1
Man	"Wild potato"	1
Woman	Salmon	2
Woman	Seed	1
Woman	Ant	1

People with bear names	Married to	Number of occurrences
Woman	Shell nose-stick	1
Woman	Turkey vulture	2
Woman	Mud	1
Woman	Hummingbird	1
Woman	Deer	2
Woman	Bow, arrow, quiver	2
Woman	Hawk	1
Woman	Football	1

Genealogies

In the genealogical information obtained there are forty-eight male lines of descent. Some of these are rather long, covering four or five generations. Others consist merely of two generations—a man and his offspring. Of these lines of descent only nine show complete transmission of the eponym of the paternal ancestor to the descendants. In other words, less than one-fifth of the Central Sierra Miwok families named all their children after the eponym of the father or other male ancestor of the group. Plainly, there is no rule of transmission of the eponym of the male ancestor, and consequently no widespread belief in descent from the eponymous animal.

If we take the forty-eight lines of descent and break them up into smaller groups, consisting in each case of father and child, we get the following results:

Number of cases	132
Percentage of children with eponym of father	41
Percentage of children without eponym of father	59

Considered from the standpoint of moieties, the following results as to transmittal of eponyms are obtained:

WATER MOIETY

Number of lines of descent	22
Eponym of paternal ancestor transmitted throughout in	14%
Eponym of paternal ancestor not transmitted throughout in	86%
Number of pairs consisting of father and child	61
Percentage of children with eponym of father	28
Percentage of children without eponym of father	72

LAND MOIETY

Number of lines of descent	26
Eponym of paternal ancestor transmitted throughout in	23%
Eponym of paternal ancestor not transmitted throughout in	77%
Number of pairs consisting of father and child	71
Percentage of children with eponym of father	52
Percentage of children without eponym of father	48

Obviously the results based on the pairs of individuals, consisting of male parent and offspring, give the more accurate data as to the tendencies of the moieties in the matter of names. Judging, therefore,

by percentages, it appears that the tendency of the water moiety as a whole was to ignore the eponym of the paternal ancestor; while the land moiety as a whole was about evenly divided on the question. It is possible, of course, that these tendencies are only local or temporary.

Disregarding moieties and putting the data on the basis of Big Creek people and Central Sierra Miwok exclusive of Big Creek people, it is found that the latter are the more zealous in the transmittal of eponyms, although in both groups they are transmitted in less than half of the cases:

BIG CREEK

Number of pairs consisting of father and child	54
Percentage of children with eponym of father	33
Percentage of children without eponym of father	67

EXCLUSIVE OF BIG CREEK

Number of pairs consisting of father and child	78
Percentage of children with eponym of father	46
Percentage of children without eponym of father	54

Going still further and considering moiety as well as locality, the curious result shown in percentages in the following table is reached:

	Big Creek		Exclusive of Big Creek	
	Water	Land	Water	Land
Transmitted	9	71	50	44
Not transmitted	91	29	50	56

It appears that the Big Creek people of the water moiety were remarkably careless about the transmission of the paternal eponym, while their fellow-villagers of the land moiety were the reverse. Upon consulting the figures for people, exclusive of Big Creek, it is found that conditions are very different, about half of the eponyms being transmitted in each moiety. Perhaps the difference in results for the two areas is due to lack of sufficient data from Big Creek.

The lines of descent on which the previous discussion is based are listed below. Sex is indicated by (m.) for male, (f.) for female. The word following each name is that of the object mentioned in the connotation or denotation of the name.

WATER MOIETY—BIG CREEK

Oñalik, bow, arrow, quiver, father of Katuye, water (m.).

Wuyi, turkey vulture, father of Notcitcto, coyote (m.), of Yutu, coyote (m.), and of Wununti, hunting-man (m.). Yutu, father of Hatcaiya, cloud (f.). Wununti, father of Teiyiño (m.). Teiyiño, father of Tiimü, caterpillar (m.) and of Lii, turtle (m.).

Teoteka, water, father of Tolikna, coyote (f.) and of Peusuye, water (f.).

Mosetuya, water, father of Totokono, sandhill crane (m.). Totokono, father of Sawa, rock (m.), of Hunui, salmon (m.), and of Yutteñe, seed (m.). Yutteñe, father of Onpume, coyote (f.).

Tunaa, salmon, father of Miltaiye, water (f.), of Talalu, rock (m.), and of Nomasu, seed (m.). Talalu, father of Putbana, fish (f.) Nomasu, father of Tukubi, tukutucu bird (m.), of Kusetu, "wild potato" (f.), of Tcilawi, seed (m.), of Hupaiye, "wild cabbage" (f.), of Tcanutuye, valley quail (f.), of Hutamsi, fish (f.), of Hopoto, frog (m.), of Pilekuye, shell nose-stick (f.), and of Pelisu, fish (m.). Pelisu, father of Atce, salmon (f.).

Tüsüku, shell nose-stick, father of Otu, seashells (m.), and of Hautcu, salmon (m.). Hautcu, father of Kolenya, fish (f.), and of Liteitu, salmon (m.).

Soloni, place name, father of Kauwiluye, ice (f.), of Posululu, frog (f.), and of Newulo (m.).

Tcotcka, water, father of Osepa (f.) and of Almase (m.).

WATER MOIETY—EXCLUSIVE OF BIG CREEK

Luyu, dove, father of Osoi (m.), and of Yukukukuye, dove (f.).

Tusimi, wizard, father of Tuikuye, wizard (f.), and of Sokono, wizard (m.).

Ewentcu, deer, grandfather of Tcatipü, deer (f.).

Tcuktoko, deer, father of Hotamuye, deer (f.), of Mukuye, deer (f.), and of Mükü, deer (m.). Mükü, father of Tolsowe, deer (m.), of Samtuye, deer (f.), and of Patiwö, deer (m.). Patiwö, father of Yatcalu, deer (m.).

Hahiyo, salmon, father of Lütemü, salmon (m.) and of Yanapaiyak, cloud (m.).

Sïtni, bow, arrow, quiver, father of Kukse, quail (m.).

Leyati, abalone, father of Musonotoma, valley quail (f.).

Situtu, bow, arrow, quiver, father of Nikiti, abalone (m.), of Lupu, abalone (f.), and of Hulntuye, abalone (f.).

Metikla, sucker fish, father of Pootci, salmon (f.).

Tolsowe, deer, father of Tünü, deer (m.), and of Putceyu, deer (f.).

Müle, quail, father of Uptuye, buckeye (f.).

Takeña, falcon, father of Talulu, falcon (m.) and of Tutce, frog (m.).

Malkuyu, farewell-to-spring, father of Elsu, falcon (m.), of Tcitwela, falcon (m.), of Hokoiyu, falcon (m.), and of Yutne, falcon (m.).

P'otcu'e, football, father of Ape, acorn (m.).

LAND MOIETY—EXCLUSIVE OF BIG CREEK

Luyunu, bear, father of Sutuluye, bear (f.), and of Tcanatcimu, tree squirrel (f.).

Tutaiyati, California jay, father of Luituye, bear (f.), of Lusela, bear (f.), and of Liwanu, bear (m.). Liwanu, father of Katcukteume, bear (m.).

Hoho, bear, father of Solasu, bear (m.), and of Eñeto, bear (m.). Solasu, father of Sanuye, cloud (f.). Eñeto, father of Liktuye, bear (f.) and of Sapata, bear (m.). Sapata, father of Anawuye, bear (m.), of Kulmuye, bear (f.), of Molimö, bear (m.), of Wopemü, bear (m.), of Wassusme, bear (f.), of Hehemuye, bear (f.), of Moemu, bear (m.), of Hoiyitcalu, bear (m.), and of Etumu, bear (m.).

Peeluyak, bear, father of Niwuye, seed (f.).

LAND MOIETY, EXCLUSIVE OF BIG CREEK

Noksu, chicken hawk, father of Tiwolu, chicken hawk (m.).

Sitki, bow, arrow, quiver, father of Mutekuye, bow, arrow, quiver (f.), of Waketnu, bow, arrow, quiver (m.), and of He'eluye, bow, arrow, quiver (f.).

Tumma, drum, father of Makuina, seed (m.).

Semuki, bear, father of Takuteima, seed (f.).

Teeweksu, tree squirrel, father of Tikmu, tree squirrel (m.), of Telumi, tree squirrel (m.), and of Hümüta, tobacco (f.).

Sukumi, great horned owl, father of Wootci, coyote (m.), of Pososu, great horned owl (m.), of Tiponya, great horned owl (m.), and of Yelutci, bear (f.).

Etu, sun, father of Akulu, sun (m.), and of Mulya, acorn (m.). Mulya, father of Suletuye, falcon (f.).

Tülemuyak, star, father of Teaksepuye, dawn (f.).

Talatu, bear, father of Wüksü, sun (m.). Wüksü, father of Siitu, magpie (m.), and of Teasibu, sun (m.).

Putepu, chicken hawk, father of Toloisi, chicken hawk (f.).

Eskeye, farewell-to-spring, father of Yaluta, farewell-to-spring (f.).

Puñoi, tree squirrel, father of Mateuta, sugar pine (f.), and of Witteuna, falcon (m.). Witteuna, father of Tetmö, dog (m.).

Putsume, bear, father of Liñugse, tule (m.).

Pele'me, coyote, father of Ukulnuye, bear (f.), and of Posala, farewell-to-spring (f.).

Umlutuya, seed, father of Loiyetu, farewell-to-spring (m.), of Loiyetuye, farewell-to-spring (f.), and of La'uyu, farewell-to-spring (m.).

Neplü, bear, father of Esege, bear (f.) and of Teukululuye, bear (f.).

Hunipte, seed, father of Wenitu, seed (m.), of Muliya, farewell-to-spring (m.), and of Teukpaiye, farewell-to-spring (f.).

Teilikua, hawk, father of Hute, star (m.).

Soso, tree squirrel, father of Telumu, farewell-to-spring (f.), and of Teumaanuye, manzanita (f.).

Cüsua, hawk, father of Osmokse, hawk (m.), of Kilikila, hawk (m.), of Sakati, hawk (m.), of Tuñelu, hawk (m.), of Yulestu, hawk (m.), and of Namino, hawk (m.). Kilikila, father of Teuteubi, sun (m.).

Papina, vine, father of Yoskolo, sugar pine (m.), of Sunumptea, sugar pine (f.), and of Kulya, sugar pine (m.).

Suki, chicken hawk, father of Wilu, chicken hawk (m.).

Of value as indicating the relationship of many individuals not listed in the above lines of descent is a list of brothers and sisters. Where the implied eponym is the same in each name in a group no positive evidence is offered as to the transmission of the eponym of the father. Where the eponym in each name in a group is different it is obvious that the eponym of the father has not been transmitted throughout to the offspring. Of the thirty-four groups of brothers and sisters nine have similar eponyms, while twenty-five have dissimilar.

Hunipte, seed (m.); Umlutuya, seed (m.).

Pati, fish (m.); Metikla, sucker fish (m.).

Etu, sun (m.); Teulu, acorn (m.); Sitpu, badger (m.).

Taipa, valley quail (m.); Situtu, bow, arrow, quiver (m.).

Kuteuyak, bear (m.); Tumakaiyu, bear (m.); Suletu, California jay (m.).

Liptcu, salmon (m.); Putsume, pota ceremony (m.).

Tiwitita, killdeer (m.); Piltcitcma, meadowlark (f.).

Tolopoiyu, vine (m.); Sitki, bow, arrow, quiver (m.).

Metikla, metakila (m.); Kolotomu, oak-leaf gall-nut (f.); Tunaa, sununu fish (m.).

Epeta, lizard (f.); Pususu, dog (m.); Kuyunu, dog (m.).

Teitepu, abalone (m.); Wiskala, sand (m.).

Wasilu, quail-crest ear-plug (f.); Moitoiye, valley quail (f.); Sitala, valley quail (f.).

Sapata, bear (f.); Hateya, bear (f.).

Awanata, turtle (m.); Situi, bow, arrow, quiver (m.).

Istu, sugar pine (m.); Hokuk, "wild potato" (f.).

Sipatu, fox (m.); Lukulkatu, fox (m.).

Teuktoko, deer (m.); Pukuna, deer (f.).

Tupi, salmon (m.); Hahiyo, salmon (m.).

Tolsowe, deer (m.); Patcuka (m.); Tusuwe, deer (m.).

Hustemeyak, *Physa* or fresh-water snail (m.); Lutaiyet, *Physa* or fresh-water snail (f.).

Yoskolo, acorn (m.); Septuye, fire (f.).

Polaiyu, lake (m.); Paseleno, vetch (f.).

Mosetuya, water (m.); Tunaa, salmon (m.).

Soloni, place name (m.); Teoileka, water (f.).

Simutuye, tree squirrel (f.); Peeluyak, bear (m.).

Tutaiyati, California jay (m.); Wiluye, eagle (f.); Tulmisuye, bear (f.).

Situtuyu, berries (m.); Putsume, bear (f.).

Bosaiya, eagle (f.); Akaino, bear (m.); Tolkateu, bear (f.); Maiyeño, chieftainess (f.).

Misu, water (m.); Tentpaiyu, seed (f.).

Teuttoko, deer (m.); Pukuna, deer (f.).

Kono, tree squirrel (m.); Soso, tree squirrel (m.).

Teintiye, buckeye (f.); Tukeye, pine nuts (f.).

Takeña, hawk (m.); Malkuyu, farewell-to-spring (m.).

Suki, chicken hawk (m.); Sakasaiyu, chicken hawk (f.).

The following six short genealogies are inserted in the paper as an aid to the discussion of the Miwok terms of relationship, and also for the purpose of demonstrating the existence of cross-cousin marriage (see p. 189). As heretofore, m. means male, f. female, W. water moiety, L. land moiety. Generation B in genealogy I coincides approximately in time with generation B in the other genealogies; the same is true with the other generations, all having the same letter being approximately the same in age. In addition to the letters after each name indicating sex and moiety, there are inserted, in cases where names occur more than once in the genealogies, Roman numerals and letters referring to the genealogy and generation in which the name is to be again found; for example, (IIC) placed after a name means that it is to be found also in genealogy II, generation C.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

Exclusive of the terms eselu, child; hikime, child in cradle; and luwasa, foster-child, thirty-four terms of relationship are employed by the majority of the Central Sierra Miwok. The people in the vicinity of Big Creek employ only thirty-three terms, as their term ate (younger brother or younger sister) takes the place of the two terms teale and kole used for these two relationships elsewhere. In this the Big Creek people correspond with some of the Southern Sierra Miwok and with the Plains Miwok, but not with the Northern Sierra Miwok, who, like the majority of the Central people, use the two terms teale and kole. One of the striking features of the Central Sierra Miwok terms of relationship is the disregard of generation. Of the thirty-four terms, twenty-one apply to two or more relationships which are in different generations.

The following table presents an analysis of the typical Central Sierra Miwok terms on the basis of the categories used by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in his paper on "Classificatory Systems of Relationship."[11] His eighth category, the condition of the connecting relative, has been omitted, as it is not operative in Miwok terms. Dr. Kroeber used twenty-four Miwok terms in his comparative table, while I am using thirty-four. The changes in figures, especially for the category "Generation," which expresses "the difference between persons of the same and separate generations," are due to the larger amount of data now at hand. As remarked above, these data have shown that, considering the full use of each term, more than one generation is represented in nearly two-thirds of the terms. The crosses in the following table mean that the category named at the head of the column is operative throughout all the applications of the term opposite which it is placed. The sex of the relative, and whether the relationship is one of blood or marriage, are the two categories most frequently expressed, the former in twenty-eight of the thirty-four terms, the latter in twenty-six. No term expresses over five categories; the average term expresses three.

Considered as to moiety, it is found that of the twenty-nine terms used by a man twelve apply to relatives belonging only to his moiety, nine to relatives of the opposite moiety only, and eight to relatives who may belong to either moiety. Belonging to the man's moiety only are his añsi, ene, haiyi, kole, kumatsa, moe, pinuksa, tatci, tete, tune,

[11] Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst., XXXIX, 78–79, 1909.

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Term	Generation	Blood or marriage	Lineal or collateral	Sex of relative	Sex of connecting relative	Sex of speaker	Age in generation
Ama		×		×			
Anisü				×			
Añsi				×			
Apasti		×		×	×	×	
Atce		×					
Ene	×	×	×	×	×		
Haiyeme	×	×		×	×	×	
Haiyi	×	×		×	×		
Hewasu	×	×					
Kaka		×	×	×	×		
Kawu		×		×	×		
Kole				×			×
Kolina		×		×	×	×	
Kumatsa		×		×	×		
Lupuba		×	×	×	×	×	
Maksi		×					
Manisa	×	×		×	×		
Moe	×	×		×	×	×	
Naña	×	×		×		×	
Oiyame	×	×		×	×		
Olo		×		×	×		
Osa	×	×		×		×	
Pansa	×	×		×	×	×	
Papa		×		×			
Pinuksa		×					
Tatci				×			×
Tete				×			×
Tomu	×		×	×			×
Tune				×			
Teale				×			×
Ü̈psa		×	×				
Üpü	×	×		×			
Ü̈ta	×	×	×	×			
Wokli		×			×	×	
Terms*	13	26	6	28	15	9	5

* Number of terms in which each category is expressed.

teale, and üpü, belonging to the opposite moiety only are his anisü, kaka, lupuba, manisa, oiyame, osa, tomu, üpsa, and üta; belonging to both moieties are his ama, atee, hewasu, kawu, maksi, olo, papa, and wokli. With a woman the distribution differs. She uses thirty terms to the man's twenty-nine. Fourteen she applies to relatives who belong only to her moiety; seven to relatives of the opposite moiety; and nine to relatives who may belong to either moiety according to circumstances. In the first category belong her ene, haiyeme, haiyi, kole, kumatsa, manisa, oiyame, pansa, pinuksa, tatci, tete, teale, üpsa, and üpü; in the second category belong her añsi, anisü, kaka, naña, tomu, tune, and üta; and in the third category belong her ama, apasti, atee, hewasu, kawu, kolina, maksi, olo, and papa.

The terms of relationship with their principal applications are given below, together with any remarks that seem pertinent. The lists

of meanings are incomplete in most cases, but are supplemented a few pages beyond by additional meanings derived directly from the genealogies. Unless otherwise stated the terms older and younger in the following lists mean older or younger than the speaker. At times the diminutive suffix -tci or -ktci is added for very young brothers, sisters, nieces, or nephews, as in tcalektci (baby younger brother), kolektci (baby younger sister), üpsatci (baby nephew).

Ama.[12] Grandmother, grandmother's sister, grandfather's sister, great grandmother. The reciprocal of this term is atce.

Ami. Mother's older sister, father's brother's wife if she is older than mother, mother's earlier co-wife. This term is the Big Creek equivalent of the more generally used term tomu. The reciprocals are añsi and tune.

Anisü. Mother's younger sister, father's brother's wife (younger than mother), mother's brother's daughter (one of a person's two female cross-cousins), mother's brother's son's daughter (one of a person's female cross first cousins once removed), stepmother, mother's later co-wife. The reciprocals of this term are añsi and tune.

Añsi. Son, man's brother's son, woman's sister's son, woman's father's sister's son (one of her two male cross-cousins), man's father's brother's son's son, woman's paternal grandfather's sister's son (one of her male cross first cousins once removed), husband's brother's son, wife's sister's son, co-wife's son, stepson. The reciprocals of this term are ami or tomu, anisü, haiyi, üpü, and üta, in other words, father and mother, and potential stepfathers and stepmothers.

Apasti. Husband's brother, husband's grandfather. The reciprocal of this term is olo in its meanings brother's wife and grandson's wife.

Atce. Grandchild, man's sister's grandchild, woman's brother's grandchild, great grandchild. The reciprocals of this term are ama and papa.

Ate. Younger brother, younger sister, father's brother's younger children, mother's sister's younger children, younger stepbrother, younger stepsister. This term is the Big Creek equivalent of the more generally used terms kole and tcale. The reciprocals of this term are tatci and tete.

Ene. Father's sister, father's father's brother's daughter. The reciprocal of this term is üpsa in its meanings woman's brother's child and woman's father's brother's son's child.

Eselu. Child, man's brother's child, woman's sister's child.

Haiyeme. Later co-wife, husband's brother's wife. The reciprocal of haiyeme in the first meaning is pansa, in the second haiyeme. In this last respect, that is, being its own reciprocal, the term haiyeme parallels moe and maksi, and pinuksa in part.

Haiyi. Mother's sister's husband, stepfather (providing he is not father's brother when üpü is used). Nowadays there is a tendency to apply the term haiyi to father's brother; this, however, is a modern innovation probably due to contact with the whites, for the ancient term for father's brother is üpü. The reciprocals of this term are añsi and tune.

[12] In the San Miguel dialect of Salinan this term is used for father's parents. See J. Alden Mason, The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 170, 1912.

Hewasu. Parent-in-law, husband's father's brother, husband's mother's sister, wife's father's brother, wife's mother's sister, man's brother's wife's parents, woman's sister's husband's parents. The reciprocals of this term are manisa and oiyame.

Kaka. Mother's brother, mother's brother's son (one of a person's two male cross-cousins, and in the light of Miwok cross-cousin marriage a man's potential brother-in-law). The reciprocals of this term are üpsa and lupuba.

Kawu. Sister's husband, father's sister's husband, woman's brother's daughter's husband, granddaughter's husband. The reciprocal of this term is wokli.

Kole. Younger sister, father's brother's younger daughter, mother's sister's younger daughter, younger half sister, female cross-cousin's (anisü) younger daughter if not speaker's daughter also, younger stepsister, younger foster sister. The reciprocals of this term are tatci and tete. At Big Creek ate is used in place of this term.

Kolina. Husband's sister, husband's father's sister, husband's grandmother. The reciprocal of this term is olo.

Kumatsa. Mother's brother's wife, man's sister's son's wife (a man's own daughter in case of Miwok cross-cousin marriage). The reciprocal of this term is pinuksa in its meanings husband's mother's brother and husband's sister's child. Two Jamestown informants gave manisa, with the meaning husband's sister's son, as a reciprocal of kumatsa. This of course would indicate cross-cousin marriage. Five other informants, however, gave pinuksa as the proper term for this relationship.

Lupuba. Man's sister's daughter, man's father's sister's daughter (one of a man's two female cross-cousins). The reciprocal of this term is kaka.

Maksi.[13] Son's or daughter's spouse's parents, son's wife's brother, daughter's husband's sister, man's sister's husband's parents, woman's brother's wife's parents. The reciprocal of this term is maksi; it is paralleled in this regard by moe and in part by haiyeme and pinuksa.

Manisa. Son-in-law, man's brother's daughter's husband, woman's sister's daughter's husband, daughter's husband's brother. The reciprocal of this term is hewasu.

Moe. Wife's sister's husband. This term is the reciprocal of itself, in this respect being paralleled by maksi and in part by haiyeme and pinuksa.

Naña. Husband. The reciprocal of this term is osa.

Oiyame. Daughter-in-law, man's brother's son's wife, woman's sister's son's wife, son's wife's sister. The reciprocal of this term is hewasu.

Olo. Brother's wife, woman's brother's son's wife, grandson's wife. The reciprocals of this term are apasti and kolina.

Osa. Wife. The reciprocal of this term is naña.

Pansa. Earlier co-wife. The reciprocal of this term is haiyeme in its meaning later co-wife.

Papa. Grandfather, grandmother's brother, great grandfather. The reciprocal of this term is atce.

Pinuksa. Husband's mother's brother (a woman's own father in case of Miwok cross-cousin marriage), husband's sister's child, man's sister's daughter's husband, wife's mother's brother. In its first two meanings the reciprocal of this term is kumatsa; the second two meanings are the reciprocals of each other.

[13] Cf. Yokuts makci, A. L. Kroeber, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., II, 240, 1907.

Tatci. Older brother, father's brother's older son, mother's sister's older son, older half brother, female cross-cousin's (anisü) older son, older stepbrother, older foster-brother. The reciprocals of this term are tcale and kole, which are included in the one term ate at Big Creek.

Tete. Older sister, father's brother's older daughter, mother's sister's older daughter, older half sister, female cross-cousin's (anisü) older daughter, older stepsister, older foster sister. The reciprocals of this term are kole and tcale, which are included in the one term ate at Big Creek.

Tomu. Mother's older sister, father's brother's wife (older than mother), mother's earlier co-wife. The reciprocals of this term are añsi and tune. At Big Creek the term tomu is replaced by the term ami.

Tune. Daughter, man's brother's daughter, woman's sister's daughter, woman's father's sister's daughter (one of a woman's two female cross-cousins, and in the light of Miwok cross-cousin marriage her potential sister-in-law), man's father's brother's son's daughter, husband's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter, co-wife's daughter, stepdaughter. The reciprocals of this term are ami or tomu, anisü, haiyi, üpü, and üta; in other words, father and mother, and potential stepfathers and stepmothers.

Tcale. Younger brother, father's brother's younger son, mother's sister's younger son, younger half brother, female cross-cousin's (anisü) younger son if not speaker's son also, younger stepbrother, younger foster brother. At Big Creek ate is used in place of this term. The reciprocals of this term are tatci and tete.

t̆psa. Man's sister's son, woman's brother's child, man's father's sister's son (one of a man's two male cross-cousins), woman's father's brother's son's child. The reciprocals of this term are kaka and ene.

t̆pü. Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son. The reciprocals of this term are añsi and tune. There is a modern tendency to use the term haiyi for father's brother. Although üpü is the vocative form for father's brother, he is sometimes distinguished otherwise by the addition of the words tuni (younger) or upela (older), and is then spoken of as younger father or older father. If father has only two brothers and he himself is either the oldest or the youngest, the one intermediate in age is spoken of as middle father, the word kauwina (middle) being added.

t̆ta. Mother. The reciprocals of this term are añsi and tune.

Wokli. Wife's brother, wife's sister, wife's brother's child, wife's father's sister, wife's grandparents. The reciprocal of this term is kawu.

A demonstration of the use of the preceding terms of relationship is given below. Mrs. Sophie Thompson (39. Pilekuye) and her daughter, Mrs. Lena Cox (58. Kulmuye), gave me the status, so far as they were concerned, of ninety-one other inhabitants of Big Creek known to them. Of these seventy-nine stand in some relation, either blood or marriage, to the two informants. The list of Big Creek inhabitants by no means exhausts the people whom the informants reckoned as relatives. A few of their many relatives who lived elsewhere are also included in the list given below.

For the sake of brevity in the following list I have used the number assigned to each individual in the genealogies, in place of the individual's name. Where any special remarks have been considered necessary they have been inserted. The terms applied by each individual to the two informants are not given below, but they can be derived readily enough by looking up in the preceding list the reciprocal of the term applied to the individual by the informant.

1. Papa (father's father's brother) to 39; papa (mother's father's father's brother) to 58.

5. Papa (father's father) to 39; papa (mother's father's father) to 58.

6. Ama (father's mother) to 39; ama (mother's father's mother) to 58.

7. Ŭpü (father's father's brother's son) to 39; papa (mother's father's father's brother's son) to 58.

9. Same as last.

11. Ŭpü (father) to 39; papa (mother's father) to 58.

12. Ami (mother's earlier co-wife) to 39; ama (mother's mother's earlier co-wife and father's father's father's brother's daughter) to 58.

13. Same as last.

14. Same as last.

16. Ŭpü (father's brother) to 39; papa (mother's father's brother) to 58.

17. Ami (father's brother's wife older than mother) and ama (father's mother's brother's daughter) to 39; ama (mother's father's brother's wife and mother's father's mother's brother's daughter) to 58.

18. Ene (father's sister) and hewasu (mother-in-law) to 39; ama (mother's father's sister and father's mother) to 58.

19. Kawu (father's sister's husband) and hewasu (father-in-law) to 39; papa (father's father) to 58.

20. Tatci (father's father's brother's son's older son) to 39; kaka (mother's father's father's brother's son's son) to 58.

21. Same as last.

22. Olo (father's father's brother's son's son's wife) to 39; no relation to 58. 39 first said that 22 was no relation; then on second thought gave the above. 58 had ceased to think of 22 as a relative at all, although 22 stands in the relation of kumatsa (mother's father's father's brother's son's son's wife) to 58.

23. Same as 20.

24. Same as 20.

25. Tete (father's father's brother's son's older daughter) to 39; ami (mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter older than mother) to 58.

27. Kawu (father's father's brother's son's daughter's husband) to 39; haiyi (mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's husband) to 58.

28. Same as 27.

29. Same as 27.

30. Tatci (older half brother) to 39; kaka (mother's half brother) to 58.

31. Tete (older half sister) to 39; ami (mother's older half sister) to 58.

32. Same as 30.

33. Olo (half brother's wife) to 39; kumatsa (mother's half brother's wife) to 58.

34. Same as 30.

35. Same as 33.

36. Same as 31.

37. Same as 31.

38. Tatci (older brother) to 39; kaka (mother's brother) to 58.

40. Añsi (father's sister's son) and naña (husband) to 39; üpü (father) to 58. If 40 were not the husband of 39 and the father of 58, he would stand in the relation of tatci (mother's father's sister's son) to 58. Hence it might be said that 58 is both the daughter (tune) and younger sister (ate) of 40, a paradox which is the product of cross-cousin marriage and a system of relationship which does not fit that form of marriage.

41. Ate (younger sister) to 39; anisü (mother's younger sister) to 58.

42. Kawu (sister's husband) to 39; haiyi (mother's sister's husband) to 58.

43. Añsi (mother's sister's daughter's son) and kawu (sister's husband) to 39; haiyi (mother's sister's husband) to 58. 43 must also stand in the relation of tatci (mother's mother's sister's daughter's son) to 58, although the informant did not state this to be so. 58 regarded 43 rather as an uncle (haiyi) than as a brother (tatci).

44. Ate (father's brother's younger daughter) to 39; anisü (mother's father's brother's daughter younger than mother) to 58.

45. The informants stated that this man was no relation. Nevertheless to 39 he stands in the relation of kawu (father's brother's daughter's husband) and to 58 he stands in the relation of haiyi (mother's father's brother's daughter's husband). It is quite possible that the informants made a mistake in the case of this man, although, on the other hand, they may not have thought of him as related to them even by marriage. As a matter of fact, 39 and 58 have an ancestor in common with 45; this ancestor is 75. The blood relationship to 39 would be that of father's mother's half sister's son's son. Compare 82, 83, 84.

46. Tune (father's sister's daughter) and kolina (husband's sister) to 39; ene (father's sister) to 58.

47. Üpsa (half brother's daughter) and pansa (earlier co-wife) to 39; anisü (mother's half brother's daughter) and ami (mother's earlier co-wife) to 58. Pilekuye (39) stated that she drove Atee (47) out of her husband's house after she (Pilekuye) became co-wife, a statement which sheds light on the probable condition in many polygynous Miwok households.

48. Üpsa (father's father's brother's son's son's daughter) to 39; anisü (mother's father's father's brother's son's son's daughter) to 58.

49. Kawu (father's father's brother's son's son's daughter's husband) to 39; haiyi (mother's father's father's brother's son's son's daughter's husband) to 58.

50. Tune (father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter) to 39; tete (mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's older daughter) to 58.

51. Üpsa to 39, which relationship was not traced out owing to lack of time. By marriage to 50, however, 51 became manisa (father's father's brother's son's daughter's husband) to 39 and kawu (mother's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's husband) to 58.

52. Same as 50.

53. Same as 51 by marriage.

54. Same as 50.

57. Añsi (son) to 39; tatci (older brother) to 58.

59. Añsi (son) to 39; ate (younger brother) to 58.

60. Kolina (husband's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter) and oiyame (daughter-in-law) to 39; ene (father's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter) and olo (brother's wife) to 58.

61. Same as 59.

62. Tune (daughter) to 39; ate (younger sister) to 58.

63. Same as 62.

64. Same as 59.

65. Same as 59.

66. Same as 59.

67. Añsi (sister's son) to 39; tatci (mother's sister's older son) to 58.

68. Same as 67.

69. Tune (father's brother's daughter's daughter) to 39; tete (mother's father's brother's daughter's older daughter) to 58.

70. Añsi (father's brother's daughter's son) to 39; ate (mother's father's brother's daughter's younger son) to 58.

71. Kolina (husband's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter) and oiyame (son's wife's sister and father's brother's daughter's son's wife) to 39; ene (father's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter) and olo (mother's father's brother's daughter's son's wife and brother's wife's sister) to 58.

72. Atee (father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son) to 39; añsi (mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son) to 58.

73. Olo (father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son's wife) to 39; oiyame (mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son's wife) to 58.

74. Atee (half brother's daughter's son) to 39; ate mother's half brother's daughter's son) to 58.

78. Papa (father's mother's brother) to 39; papa (mother's father's mother's brother) to 58.

82. The informants stated that this man was not related to them, meaning undoubtedly that they did not normally think of him as a relative. He actually stands in the relation of üpü (father's mother's half sister's son) to 39. The informants did not treat 83, 84, 45, or 85 as related to themselves through 82. 83, 84, and 45 were considered non-relatives.

85. Olo to 39; kumatsa to 58. For the facts bearing on this questionable relation see the remarks following 114.

90. Apasti (husband's father's father) to 39; papa (father's father's father) to 58.

93. Kawu (father's collateral sister's[14] husband) and hewasu (husband's father's brother) to 39; papa (father's father's brother) to 58.

95. Maksi (son's father-in-law) and hewasu (husband's father's mother's half sister's son) to 39; maksi (brother's father-in-law) and papa (father's father's mother's half sister's son) to 58.

96. Maksi (son's mother-in-law) to 39; maksi (brother's mother-in-law) and ama (father's father's mother's half sister's son's wife) to 58.

97. Tune (father's collateral sister's daughter) and kolina (husband's father's brother's daughter) to 39; ene (father's father's brother's daughter) to 58.

98. Kolina (husband's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter) and oiyame (son's wife's sister) to 39; ene father's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter) and olo (brother's wife's sister) to 58.

[14] Collateral sister is the daughter of father's brother or mother's sister, in other words, an identical cousin.

99. Apasti (husband's father's mother's half sister's son's son) and maksi (son's wife's brother) to 39; üpü (father's father's mother's half sister's son's son) to 58.

102. Hewasu (husband's father's father's brother's son) to 39; papa (father's father's father's brother's son) to 58.

104. Kolina (husband's father's father's brother's son's daughter) and anisü (mother's co-wife's brother's daughter) to 39; ene (father's father's father's brother's son's daughter) to 58.

105. Same as last.

107. Apasti (husband's father's father's brother's son's son) and kaka (mother's co-wife's brother's son) to 39; üpü (father's father's father's brother's son's son) to 58.

108. Said by informants not to be regarded as a relative. Nevertheless 108 stood in the relation of haiyeme (husband's father's father's brother's son's son's wife) and kumatsa (mother's co-wife's brother's son's wife) to 39, and in the relation of either ami or anisü (father's father's father's brother's son's son's wife) to 58.

109. Ate (mother's co-wife's brother's daughter's son) to 39; kaka (mother's mother's co-wife's brother's daughter's son) to 58.

110. Añsi (husband's father's father's brother's son's son's son) and kaka (mother's co-wife's brother's son's son) to 39; ate (father's father's father's brother's son's son's son's son) to 58.

113. Ate (mother's sister's younger daughter) to 39; anisü (mother's mother's sister's daughter) to 58.

114. Kawu (mother's sister's daughter's husband) to 39; haiyi (mother's mother's sister's daughter's husband) to 58.

The individuals 115 to 122 are related to 39 and 58 because Nomasu (11) "used to spark with Posululu's [120] mother" [117]. I do not know whether this statement by Mrs. Thompson meant that 11 was actually the father of 118, 120, and 122 or not. At any rate, the terms applied by her to these three individuals were the same as those applied to real brothers and sisters. The following relationships and also that of 85, the informant said, are based on the above.

115. Ene to 39. 115 being ene to 120, who is counted as tete to 39, 115 is reckoned as ene to 39 also. The relationship is not logical whether reckoned by descent or by marriage.

116. I did not obtain the relationship to 39 and 58.

117. I did not obtain the relationship to 39 and 58.

118. Tete to 39; ami to 58.

119. Kawu to 39; no relation to 58.

120. Same as 118.

121. Counted as no relation. However, if 119 stands in the relation of kawu to 39 this man ought to also.

122. Tatci to 39; kaka to 58.

Many of the above meanings of the terms of relationship are additional to those already given in the list of terms. These additional

meanings are listed below, and may be summarized in the statement that they represent the usual collateral application of terms common to the so-called classificatory systems of relationship. Meanings of terms already given in the list of terms of relationship are omitted in that which follows. It should be remembered that the ensuing use of terms is entirely from the standpoint of a woman as the speaker.

Ama

Father's mother's brother's daughter.
Father's father's mother's half sister's son's wife.
Mother's father's brother's wife.
Mother's father's mother's brother's daughter.

Ami

Mother's older half sister.
Mother's earlier co-wife.
Mother's mother's earlier co-wife.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter.
Father's father's father's brother's daughter.

Anisü

Mother's half brother's daughter.
Mother's mother's sister's daughter.
Mother's co-wife's brother's daughter.
Mother's father's brother's younger daughter.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's son's daughter.

Añsi

Father's brother's daughter's son.
Husband's father's father's brother's son's son's son.
Mother's sister's daughter's son.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son.

Apasti

Husband's father's father's brother's son's son.
Husband's father's mother's half sister's son's son.

Atce

Half brother's daughter's son.
Father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son.

Ate

Father's father's father's brother's son's son's younger son.
Mother's half brother's daughter's younger son.
Mother's co-wife's brother's daughter's younger son.
Mother's father's brother's daughter's younger son.

Ene

Father's father's father's brother's son's daughter.
Father's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter.

Haiyi

Mother's mother's sister's daughter's husband.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's husband.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's son's daughter's husband.

Hewasu

Husband's father's father's brother's son.
Husband's father's mother's half sister's son.

Kaka

Mother's half brother.
Mother's co-wife's brother's son.
Mother's co-wife's brother's son's son.
Mother's mother's co-wife's brother's daughter's son.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's son.

Kawu

Father's father's brother's son's daughter's husband.
Father's father's brother's son's son's daughter's husband.
Mother's sister's daughter's husband.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's husband.

Kolina

Husband's father's brother's daughter.
Husband's father's father's brother's son's daughter.
Husband's father's mother's half sister's son's daughter.

Kumatsa

Mother's half brother's wife.

Manisa

Father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's husband.

Oiyame

Father's brother's daughter's son's wife.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son's wife.

Olo

Brother's wife's sister.
Half brother's wife.
Father's father's brother's son's son's wife.
Father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter's son's wife.
Mother's father's brother's daughter's son's wife.

Papa

Father's father's brother.
Father's father's father's brother's son.
Father's father's mother's half sister's son.
Mother's father's brother.
Mother's father's father's brother.
Mother's father's father's brother's son.
Mother's father's mother's brother.

Tatci

Father's father's brother's son's older son.

Tete

Father's father's brother's son's older daughter.
Mother's father's brother's daughter's older daughter.
Mother's father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter.

Tune

Father's brother's daughter's daughter.
Father's father's brother's son's daughter's daughter.

Upsa

Half brother's daughter.
Father's father's brother's son's son's daughter.

Upü

Father's father's father's brother's son's son.
Father's father's mother's half sister's son's son.

My oldest informant, Tom Williams of Jamestown, stated that in the case of endogamic (as to moiety) marriages the terms of relationship for persons connected through the marriage were altered. Every other informant denied this. Tom, however, volunteered the information in such a straightforward manner that it seems not unlikely that this was the practice in former times. All of the terms which are said to be changed by the tabu marriage denote relationships which are normally the result of marriage. Furthermore, each expresses a relationship which is at least one generation removed from the speaker, never in the speaker's generation. In each case of change a term is substituted which brings the person addressed one generation nearer the speaker. No change is made in the case of relatives connected by the marriage are of one generation. The motive of the change would seem to be the desire to ignore the improper (endogamic) marriage. This alleged peculiarity of the Miwok kinship nomenclature has been disregarded in the inferences drawn in this paper owing to lack of verification. The data are presented as a matter of record, the examples given by Tom Williams being tabulated below.

The term	*Its most direct normal application is*	*In case of endogamic marriage it is applied to*	*On account of the below-named persons being of the wrong moiety*	*Had the marriage been proper (exogamic) the term used would have been*
Eselu	Child under 15 years of age	Grandchild (through son) under 15 years of age	Grandchild's parents	Atce
Añsi	Son	Grandson (through son)	Grandson's parents	Atce
Tune	Daughter	Granddaughter (through son)	Granddaughter's parents	Atce
ĭ̈pü	Father	Paternal grandfather	Speaker's parents	Papa
Tomu	Mother's older sister	Paternal grandmother	Speaker's parents	Ama
ĭ̈psa	Sister's son (m.s.)	Grandson of sister (m.s.)	Sister's husband (m.s.)	Atce
Apasti	Husband's brother	Husband's father	Husband	Hewasu
Olo	Brother's wife	Son's wife (m.s.)	Son's wife	Oiyame
Kolina	Husband's sister	Husband's mother	Husband	Hewasu
Kolina	Husband's sister	Son's wife (w.s.)	Wife	Oiyame
Tatci	Elder brother	Sister's daughter's husband (m.s.)	Husband if older than speaker	Pinuksa
Teale	Younger brother	Sister's daughter's husband (m.s.)	Husband if younger than speaker	Pinuksa

Terminology and Social Customs

Of the female relatives who are normally of the opposite moiety, a man may sometimes marry his anisü who stands in the relation to him of cross-cousin or first cousin once removed (mother's brother's daughter or mother's brother's son's daughter).[15] He may not marry

[15] See the discussion of this matter under the heading "Cross-Cousin Marriage," p. 81.

the anisü who stands in the relation to him of mother's younger sister. There seems to be no objection, however, to a man marrying his anisü who is his mother's collateral sister. The marriage of 41 and 43 in genealogy I, generation D, and genealogy V, generation E, is of this type, 41 standing in the relation to 43 of mother's mother's sister's daughter. A man may not marry his hupuba, his tomu, or his oiyame. Speech with his oiyame (usually daughter-in-law) is tabued.

Of the female relatives who may belong to either moiety, he may marry only those individuals who are not of his moiety, as follows: upon the death of his brother, his olo who stands in the relation of brother's wife; and upon the death of his wife, his wokli who stands in the relation of wife's sister, wife's brother's daughter, or wife's father's sister. He may form a polygynous union with any of the last three during the lifetime of his wife. The marriage of 40 to 39 after his marriage to 47 (genealogy I, generations D and E) affords an example of a man marrying his wife's father's [half] sister.

A woman may sometimes marry her añsi who is her cross-cousin, or first cousin once removed (father's sister's son of father's father's sister's son), or her añsi who is her collateral sister's son, as in the case cited above (41 and 43 in genealogies I and V). She may not marry the añsi who is her own son or her sister's son. She may not marry her kaka. Of the male relatives who may belong to either moiety a woman may marry those who are not of her moiety, as follows: upon the death of her husband or of her married sister, her apasti, who stands in the relation of husband's brother, or her kawu, who stands in the relation of sister's husband, father's sister's husband, or brother's daughter's husband. She may also become a co-wife in a polygynous union with either of the last three. The marriage of 39 to 40 in genealogy I, generation D, exemplifies this, for 40 was already the husband of 47 (generations D and E), who was 39's [half] brother's daughter. If 40 had married 39 first and then 47, the second marriage would have been an example of a woman marrying her father's [half] sister's husband, or to state it from the opposite standpoint, an example of a man marrying his wife's [half] brother's daughter. The marriage of 11 to 14 (genealogy I, generation C) is another case in point. 14 stood in the relation of üpsa (probably brother's daughter) to 12 and 13. Hence when 11 married 14 he married his wives' brother's daughter. 12, 13, 14, and 15 were co-wives married to 11; 39 and 47 were co-wives married to 40.

Speech tabus between relatives among the Miwok are correlated, so far as they go, with certain of the types of marriage. Between people of the same moiety tabus operate as follows: between a man and his mother-in-law, between a man and his mother-in-law's sisters, between a man and his mother's brother's wife, and between a woman and her son-in-law's brother. Tabus between relatives of different moieties are those between a woman and her father-in-law, a woman and her father-in-law's brother, and a man and his daughter-in-law's sisters. It is to be noted that when it is permissible for relatives to marry after the death of the connecting relative, no speech tabu is imposed upon them during the life of the connecting relative. Conversely, tabus continue in operation after the death of the connecting relative, just as terms of relationship do, for example, mother-in-law and son-in-law. If it becomes necessary to address a tabu relative on account of the absence of a go-between, the plural form is used, and, as an Indian expresses it, he talks to his relative as though she were more than one person. For example, a man would address his kumatsa (mother's brother's wife) by the plural kumatsako.

In the succeeding paragraphs the application of terms of relationship, which apparently have been conditioned by social customs, will be discussed. The social phenomena, outside of exogamy, which I believe to have been particularly potent in molding the features of the Miwok terminology, are the right of marriage to certain of the wife's relatives and descent in the male line. Then, too, a psychological factor may be invoked, namely, the feeling that one brother may be substituted for another, or, in other words, that brothers are essentially alike. The use of the term üpü (father) for father's brother indicates this sentiment, and shows that the father and the father's brother were regarded as more or less interchangeable as husbands and fathers. This use of the term üpü might be interpreted as indicating polyandry in which two or more brothers married a single woman. There is not the slightest pretext, however, for believing that such a form of marriage ever existed among the Central Sierra Miwok. The concept of the similarity of brothers found expression in the practice of a man marrying his brother's widow and thus becoming the father of his brother's children. The inclusion of the father and his brother in the term üpü is just the reverse of the careful distinction of the mother and her sisters by the terms üta, mother; tomu or ami, mother's older sister; and anisü, mother's younger sister.

Upon the death of his wife a man might marry her sister, in case he had not already done so in a polygynous marriage. These two customs, the marriage of a man to his brother's widow and to his wife's sister, readily account for the applications of the twelve terms of relationship which follow. It is not claimed that the terms have resulted only from these two types of marriage, but it is claimed that the types of marriage and the use of the terms are in agreement and certainly seem to stand in the relation of cause and effect.

Upü
Father.
Father's brother.

Añsi
Son.
Man's brother's son.
Woman's sister's son.
Husband's brother's son.
Wife's sister's son.

Tune
Daughter.
Man's brother's daughter.
Woman's sister's daughter.
Husband's brother's daughter.
Wife's sister's daughter.

Kole
Younger sister.
Father's brother's younger daughter.
Mother's sister's younger daughter.

Tatci
Older brother.
Father's brother's older son.
Mother's sister's older son.

Tete
Older sister.
Father's brother's older daughter.
Mother's sister's older daughter.

Tcale
Younger brother.
Father's brother's younger son.
Mother's sister's younger son.

Hewasu
Father-in-law.
Husband's father's brother.
Wife's father's brother.
Mother-in-law.
Wife's mother's sister.
Husband's mother's sister.

Manisa
Son-in-law.
Man's brother's daughter's husband.
Woman's sister's daughter's husband.
Daughter's husband's brother.

Oiyame
Daughter-in-law.
Man's brother's son's wife.
Woman's sister's son's wife.
Son's wife's sister.

Haiyeme
Later co-wife.
Husband's brother's wife.

Anisü
Stepmother.
Mother's younger sister.
Father's brother's wife.

The term anisü denotes among immediate relatives the mother's brother's daughter, the mother's younger sister and the father's brother's wife, providing she is younger than the mother. The mother's older sister and the father's brother's wife, providing she is older than the mother, are called tomu, or, among the Big Creek people, ami. The identity of the terms in each of these pairs of relationships need not be taken as an indication of double marriage, although informants stated that two brothers did at times marry two sisters, and such indeed would be the case were cross-cousin marriage rigorously adhered to. The identity of the terms undoubtedly arises from the two marriage customs mentioned above, which have nothing to do with either double marriage or cross-cousin marriage; namely, the marrying of the brother's widow and of the wife's sister. Hence, regarded from the standpoint of myself, my mother's sister and my father's brother's wife are both the potential wives of my father and both my potential stepmothers. To my mind this accounts for the identity in terminology without involving double marriage or cross-cousin marriage. As I will show later, cross-cousin marriage is undoubtedly a late and not general development and has had no effect on the terminology of relationship.

The identification of the mother's brother's daughter with the mother's younger sister and the father's brother's wife younger than the mother is apparent in the use of the term anisü for these three relationships without any qualifying term. As corroboration of this identification, it must be noted that the reciprocals of the various

meanings of the terms anisü and tomu are identical throughout. They are añsi and tune, that is, son and daughter. Furthermore, a man or a woman calls the children of the anisü cross-cousin (mother's brother's daughter), when they are not the man's own, his or her brothers and sisters, just as is done with the children of other anisü relatives, notably mother's sister's children. Light is thrown on this identification of the mother's brother's daughter with the mother's younger sister and the father's brother's wife younger than the mother by the Miwok custom of a man marrying his wife's brother's daughter in cases of polygamy or after the death of his wife. In some cases, if she were too young for him to marry, she was held for him until she had reached the marriageable age, when she was handed over to him. To myself, therefore, my mother's brother's daughter also stands in the relation of father's potential wife or potential stepmother, just as do my mother's sister and my father's brother's wife. The reflection, in the term anisü, of this form of marriage; namely, of a man to his wife's brother's daughter, is indicative of its antiquity. The term anisü might be translated, not by its various applications, but by the term potential stepmother, a translation which would apply consistently to the individuals included under the term.

Other Miwok terms of relationship give additional proof of the marriage of a man to his wife's brother's daughter. The term wokli is applied not only to wife's brother or sister but also to wife's brother's son or daughter. This means that a man's wife's brother's daughter may become his wife, thus making the remaining children of his first wife's brother his brothers- and sisters-in-law. The application of the reciprocal of wokli, kawu, to sister's husband and father's sister's husband indicates the same kind of marriage, which, as already pointed out, is the actual custom. This type of marriage is reflected altogether in twelve terms, to wit: anisü, añsi, kaka, kawu, kole, lupuba, tatci, tete, tune, teale, üpsa, and wokli.

A woman calls her father's sister's children, who are her cross-cousins, son and daughter, terms which seem to have arisen from this form of marriage. Viewed from the standpoint of the woman, she marries her father's sister's husband; hence his children become her stepchildren. In Miwok terminology, whether she marries the man or not, his children (her cross-cousins) are called añsi and tune (son and daughter) by her, and she is called anisü (potential stepmother) by them. The principle is carried into other terms, for her brother is called kaka (mother's brother) by them, while he applies the terms

üpsa and lupuba (sister's son and daughter) to them, according to their sex. We thus find that the Miwok classification of cross-cousins seems to be based entirely on this form of marriage; namely, that of a woman to her father's sister's husband or of a man to his wife's brother's daughter. The cross-cousins are:

Man's mother's brother's daughter—anisü.
Man's mother's brother's son—kaka.
Man's father's sister's son—üpsa.
Man's father's sister's daughter—lupuba.

Woman's mother's brother's daughter—anisü.
Woman's mother's brother's son—kaka.
Woman's father's sister's son—añsi.
Woman's father's sister's daughter—tune.

It is to be noted that the mother's brother's son and daughter are called by the terms for uncle and potential stepmother (kaka and anisü), whether the speaker is a man or a woman. A woman's father's sister's son and daughter are called son and daughter, while a man's father's sister's son and daughter are called nephew and niece.

The practice of cross-cousins applying to each other the terms used by children and parents, or by children and aunts and uncles, is closely paralleled elsewhere in the world. Dr. R. H. Codrington[16] has recorded a case in the Banks Islands which Dr. W. H. R. Rivers[17] has cited. Exact parallels to the terminology in the Banks Islands are found among the Minnitarees, Crows, Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and Pawnees.[18] All of the above cases would be the result, Dr. Rivers claims, of the marriage of a man to his mother's brother's wife. This type of marriage is impossible among the Miwok on account of moiety exogamy and descent in the male line, so that here the parallel between the Miwok, Melanesian, and eastern North American cases ceases. The Miwok terminology is probably caused, however, by the reverse custom of a woman marrying her father's sister's husband, or, stating it from the standpoint of a man, of a man marrying his wife's brother's daughter. To me it seems probable that this custom is responsible for the uniting of my mother's brother and his male descendants, immediate and through males, *ad infinitum*, in the term kaka. Likewise it is probably responsible for the uniting of my

[16] The Melanesians, Studies in Their Anthropology and Folk-Lore (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1891), 38–39.

[17] Kinship and Social Organization (London, Constable & Co. Ltd., 1914), 28.

[18] *Ibid.*, 53.

mother's brother's female descendants immediate and through males, *ad infinitum*, in the term anisü, for all are the potential wives of my father. Dr. Robert H. Lowie points to an identical combination of male descendants of the mother's brother among the patrilineal Omaha, Oto, Kansa, and other Siouan tribes.[19] He would lay this to the operation of exogamy and to the extension of the use of terms of relationship to clan brothers and sisters, rather than to a special marriage custom, as Dr. Rivers would. Among the Miwok there are no clan or moiety brothers and sisters, all relationship being based on blood and marriage ties. Marriage custom and terminology among the Miwok would seem, therefore, to support Dr. Rivers' contention. Other features which would arise from the type of marriage just discussed are also present both among the Omaha and the Miwok; for example, the classing together of father's sister's daughter and sister's daughter. Among the Omaha my mother's brother's daughter's son is my brother; so he is also among the Miwok, where my mother's brother's daughter may be my stepmother, for my father has a right to marry her in case of my mother's death, or in case he desires to have more than one wife.

To sum up, I do not deny the potency of exogamy to bring about the Omaha and Miwok type of nomenclature, but I do claim for the marriage custom cited an equal potency to bring about such a result.

The combining of woman's sister's husband and woman's brother's daughter's husband in the term kawu, and of wife's sister and wife's father's sister in the term wokli, are reflections of the marriage of a man to his wife's father's sister and conversely of a woman to her brother's daughter's husband.

In Miwok polygnous marriages it is said to have been not uncommon for a man to marry two sisters. Such a marriage is shown in genealogy I, generation C. Nomasu (11) married Wihuye (12) and Tulmisuye (13), who were real sisters (see genealogy IV, generation C). This type of marriage is reflected but faintly in the nomenclature of relationship. The remarks under 107, page 178, in the demonstration of the terms of relationship based on the genealogies, bring to light a reflection of this type of marriage. The term kaka, usually applied to mother's brother and mother's brother's son, is here applied to mother's co-wife's brother's son just as if mother's co-wife was mother's sister, which she is not in this case. The fact that this term is here applied to a person through a co-wife who is not mother's

[19] Exogamy and Systems of Relationship, Am. Anthr., n. s., XVII, 238, 1915.

sister leads one to believe that co-wives were usually sisters. For similar examples see 109 and 110. Other terms of relationship are also used on the basis of treating co-wives as sisters; for instance, see the use of anisü in 104, of ate in 109, and of ami in 12 and 47. In the last two instances the mother's co-wife is called by the term used for mother's older sister.

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

When asked if it were proper for a man to marry a cousin, Miwok informants always replied in the negative. In obtaining genealogical information, however, cases came up in which a man married his mother's brother's daughter. I called my informant's attention to this fact and received the reply that the individuals concerned were not regarded as cousins, for they stood in the relation of añsi and anisü to each other, which translated into English would be son and aunt, or potential stepmother. This affords an excellent example of the futility of using English terms of relationship with natives when discussing native customs.

Every Miwok to whom the question was put stated that the proper mate for a man was a woman who stood in the relation of anisü to him, providing she was not too closely related to him.[20] Although a man might marry his anisü cross-cousin, who was the daughter of his mother's brother, he could under no circumstances marry his hupuba cross-cousin, who was the daughter of his father's sister. This one-sidedness of cross-cousin marriage among the Miwok in no way affected its popularity, or, to be more exact, the popularity of anisü-añsi marriages, of which the cross-cousin marriage is one form. In many cases my informants would state that a certain man and his wife stood in the relation to each other of añsi and anisü. Although these instances were not substantiated, except in four cases, by genealogical proof, they show the popularity of this form of marriage. At Big Creek six of the listed marriages are of this type, eight are not, and on the remaining eight I have no information. Cases were encountered in which a husband and wife claimed to stand in the añsi-anisü relation to each other, but, when asked to demonstrate the relation, were unable to trace the connecting links. This state of affairs shows clearly that añsi-anisü marriages must have been the vogue, otherwise married

[20] See meanings of term anisü on pages 172 and 179; also discussion of term under "Terminology and Social Customs."

people who could not prove such a relationship would not lay claim to it. Even among the Northern Sierra Miwok at Elk Grove, among whom the moiety system does not seem to exist, añsi-anisü marriages were the custom. The Southern Sierra Miwok of Madera County state that these marriages were proper, but that the contracting parties must be only distantly related.

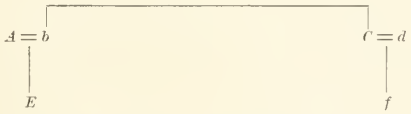
Informants at Jamestown, while stating that anisü-añsi marriages were prevalent there as elsewhere, said that marriages between first cousins, who stood in this relation, were commoner higher in the mountains than at Jamestown. The men at Jamestown and lower in the foothills were inclined to marry an anisü further removed than a first cousin. There seems to have been a sentiment at Jamestown against the marriage of first cousins. One woman was asked if she would consider it proper for her son to marry her brother's daughter. She replied, "No, she is too much like his mother," meaning herself. Her reply may have been engendered by the Miwok custom of a man marrying his wife's brother's daughter. By this marriage his new wife, who is also his son's anisü cross-cousin, would become his son's stepmother; hence perhaps the woman's statement with regard to her son's anisü cross-cousin, "too much like his mother."

The identification of the anisü cross-cousin with the mother's younger sister and father's brother's wife younger than mother has already been discussed under the heading "Terminology and Social Customs." As stated there, there are twelve terms which reflect the marriage of a man to his wife's brother's daughter. Turning now to cross-cousin marriage, let us search for terms which reflect it. We find that there are none. With the popularity of cross-cousin marriage in the minds of the people at present, one might expect to find identical terms for such relationships as mother's brother and man's father-in-law, mother's brother's wife and man's mother-in-law, son and daughter and son and daughter of a man's anisü cross-cousin, but such terms are lacking.[21] The only evidence which possibly favors antiquity of cross-cousin marriage lies in the speech tabu which exists between a man and his mother's brother's wife or kumatsa, who in view of cross-cousin marriage is his potential mother-in-law. The

[21] As mentioned on page 173 in the discussion of the term kumatsa, two Jamestown informants gave the term manisa (normally son-in-law) for husband's sister's son instead of the usual term pinuksa. If this usage were established it could be said that cross-cousin marriage did have a reflection in the nomenclature. However, five other informants gave pinuksa, not manisa, as the proper term.

Miwok, like other California Indians, imposed a tabu upon a man and his mother-in-law.

The situation there is this: There is in the Miwok terminology of relationship an undeniable reflection of the marriage of a man to his wife's brother's daughter; on the other hand, there is no reflection whatever of cross-cousin marriage. This implies that the former is the more primitive custom of the two. It may be shown in a diagram as follows:



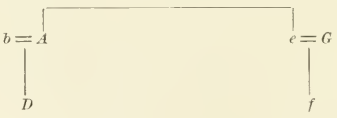
In this diagram, if E marries f, who is E's mother's brother's daughter (anisü cross-cousin), A cannot marry f, who is his wife's brother's daughter, because f has already become his son's wife, and all intercourse between a man and his daughter-in-law is tabued. If E did not marry f, A would have a perfect right to her, for f is his wife's brother's daughter and his potential wife. Thus we have the two types of marriage in conflict, for either a man or his son may claim the same woman, A claiming f because she is his wife's brother's daughter, E claiming f because she is his anisü (mother's brother's daughter). Informants and genealogies vouch for the occurrence of both forms of marriage, which if taken as synchronous for any one woman would mean polyandry, of which there is no trace, a man and his son having one woman in common. It is easily conceivable, however, that the two practices existed side by side.

An attempt to show the connection between these two intimately related forms of marriage will now be made. It has already been pointed out that the marriage of a man to his wife's brother's daughter is reflected in twelve terms of relationship. Evidently, therefore, a man regarded his wife's brother's daughter as his potential wife, for in some cases of polygyny, and of the death of the first wife, he married her. Here seems to me to be the key to the mystery of the one-sided Miwok cross-cousin marriage. The man who thus had a right to marry his wife's brother's daughter may have passed that right on to his son. In other words, the marriage right of the father became vested in the son in cases in which the father did not avail himself of it. This hypothesis explains why two blood relatives, who recip-

rocally used the terms for son and potential stepmother, or aunt, and who might actually become stepson and stepmother, should marry. The theory that cross-cousin marriage has been thus evolved from another form of marriage through descent in the male line, displays it as a secondary, and perhaps recent, form of marriage, which has not yet affected the nomenclature of relationship. If it were found in future investigations that the father paid for his wife's brother's daughter and then let his son marry her, our hypothesis would become almost an established fact.

Two terms of relationship, which are reciprocals, seem to support this hypothetical origin of cross-cousin marriage. They are kolina and olo. In kolina are united the husband's sister and the husband's father's sister, which would be the case where both a man and his father had the right to a woman. To fit our hypothesis more exactly, however, the meanings combined should be husband's sister and husband's son's sister (that is, stepdaughter).

If we admit the cogency of the above theory as to the origin of the unilateral Miwok cross-cousin marriage, we immediately have at hand an explanation of why the other form of cross-cousin marriage is forbidden. When a man marries his wife's brother's daughter he marries a person who is normally not his blood relative. As I have already pointed out, it is but a simple step to extend to the man's son the privilege of marrying the same woman, providing the man himself does not do so. Now let us try to imagine the forbidden cross-cousin marriage arising in a similar manner. In the first step this involves the marriage of a man to his son's lupuba cross-cousin, that is, to his son's father's sister's daughter, who is his own sister's daughter. She is called lupuba by both the man and his son. In the diagram *D* and *f* are the cross-cousins. *A* has absolutely no right to *f*, his son's cross-



cousin. In the first place, she is not related to his wife *b*, and in the second place she is the daughter of his own sister *e*, and hence a close blood relative. As we recall, his right to his son's other female cross-cousin (anisü) was based on the fact that she was his wife's brother's daughter and normally not his blood relative. It would seem that the

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prohibition against a man marrying his lupuba, who is his sister's daughter, had been extended to the son, thus preventing the latter from marrying his lupuba, who is his father's sister's daughter and his own cross-cousin.

If Miwok cross-cousin marriage had arisen in any other way than the hypothetical way already outlined it is hard to imagine why it should be restricted to only one pair of cross-cousins. The very fact that it is so restricted strengthens the theory of origin primarily through the passing on of a privilege in the male line. In allowing the one kind of cross-cousin marriage and not the other the Miwok evidently considered inheritance as more important than consanguinity; yet where inheritance had no weight consanguinity became active and prevented the other form of cross-cousin marriage.

Two first cousin marriages of the cross-cousin type were recorded. The first case is in generation C, in genealogies I and II; the individuals are numbered 16 and 17. Talalu (16) married Niwuye (17), who is the daughter of his mother's (6, Simutuye) brother (78, Peeluyak). The second case is in generation D of genealogy I; the individuals are numbered 39 and 40. Sapata (40) married Pilekuye (39), who is the daughter of his mother's (18, Miltaiye) brother (11, Nomasu). One marriage between first cousins once removed was recorded. The marriage is that of Sapata (40) and Atce (47). It is recorded in generations D and E of genealogy I. Sapata (40) married the daughter (47, Atce) of his mother's (18, Miltaiye) brother's (11, Nomasu) son (32, Pelisu).

CONCLUSION

The discovery of a dual social organization among the Mono and the Yokuts tribes, as mentioned in the introduction, indicates that they together with the Miwok form a compact unit socially. Judging from Dr. J. Alden Mason's statement[22] as to the presence of a bear and a deer "totem" among the Salinan Indians, it seems safe to infer that the moiety organization will be found to extend to the coast. Among the Central Sierra Miwok the bear is the animal associated most frequently through personal names with the land moiety; the deer is the animal associated most frequently in a like manner with

[22] The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., x, 189, 1912.

the water moiety. These facts suggest that the bear and the deer "totems" among the Salinan may stand for two moieties.

The greater complexity of the moiety organization among the Tachi Yokuts about Tulare Lake as compared to the Central Sierra Miwok organization leads to the impression that the latter people are on the periphery of the moiety area. Although it is too early in the study to advance a positive opinion, the distribution of the institution, together with its varying complexity, seems to point to the San Joaquin Valley as the region from which the organization spread to the mountain tribes, perhaps to the west as well as to the east.[23]

[23] For a preliminary notice see Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., XI, 291–296, 1916.

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